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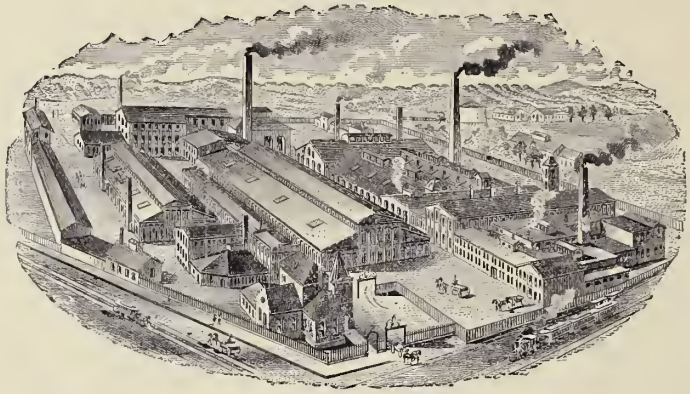
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INDEPENDENT

Order of Knights of Labor.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES.

The alarming development and aggressiveness of the power of money and corporations under the present industrial and political systems will inevitably lead to the hopeless degradation of the people. It is imperative, if we desire to enjoy the full blessings of life, that unjust accumulation and this power for evil of aggregated wealth shall be prevented. This much desired object can be accomplished only by the united efforts of those who obey the divine injunction: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Therefore we have formed the Independent Order of the Knights of Labor for the purpose of organizing, educating and directing the power of the industrial masses.

It is not a political party, it is more, for in it are crystallized sentiments and measures for the benefit of the whole people; but it should be borne in mind when exercising the right of suffrage that most of the objects herein set forth can only be obtained through legislation, and that it is the duty, regardless of party, of all to assist in nominating and supporting with their votes such candidates as will support these measures. No one shall, however, be compelled to vote with the majority.

Calling upon all who believe in securing "the greatest good to the greatest number" to join and assist us, we declare to the world that our aims are:

I. To make industrial and moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness.

II. To secure to the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create; sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral and social faculties; all of the benefits, recreations and pleasures of association; in a word, to enable them to share in the gains and honor of advancing civilization.

In order to secure these results we demand at the hands of the law-making power of Municipality, State and Nation:

III. The establishment of the Initiative and Referendum in the making of all laws.

IV. The establishment of Bureaus of Labor Statistics, that we may arrive at a correct knowledge of the educational, moral and financial condition of the laboring masses, and the establishment of free State Labor Bureaus.

V. The land, including all the natural sources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people, and should not be subject to speculative traffic. Occupancy and use should be the only title to the possession of land. The taxes upon land should be levied upon its full value for use, exclusive of improvements, and should be sufficient to take for the community all unearned increment.

VI. The abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon capitalists and laborers, and the removal of unjust technicalities, delays and discriminations in the administration of justice.

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TIPPING METAL,

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Button Metal for Washing Goods.

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VII. The adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing and building industries, and for indemnification to those engaged therein for injuries received through lack of necessary safeguards.

VIII. The recognition, by incorporation, of orders and other associations organized by the workers to improve their condition and to protect their rights.

IX. The enactment of laws to compel corporations to pay their employees weekly in lawful money for the labor of the preceding week, and giving mechanics and laborers a first lien upon the product of their labor to the extent of their full wages.

X. The abolition of the contract system on National, State and Municipal works.

XI. The enactment of laws providing for arbitration between employers and employed, and to enforce the decision of the arbitrators.

XII. The prohibition by law of the employment of children under fifteen years of age; the compulsory attendance at school for at least ten months in the year of all children between the ages of seven and fifteen years; and the furnishing at the expense of the State of free text-books.

XIII. That a graduated tax on incomes and inheritances be levied.

XIV. To prohibit the hiring out of convict labor.

XV. The establishment of a national monetary system in which a circulating medium in necessary quantity shall issue directly to the people without the intervention of banks; that all the national issue shall be full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private; and that the government shall not guarantee or recognize any private banks or create any banking corporations.

XVI. That interest-bearing bonds, bills of credit or notes shall never be issued by the government, but that, when need arises, the emergency shall be met by issue of legal-tender, non-interest-bearing money.

XVII. That the importation of foreign labor under contract be prohibited.

XVIII. That in connection with the post-office the government shall provide facilities for deposits of savings of the people in small sums.

XIX. That the government shall obtain possession, under the right of eminent domain, of all telegraphs, telephones and railroads; and that hereafter no charter or license be issued to any corporation for construction or operation of any means of transporting intelligence, passengers or freight.

And while making the foregoing demands upon the State and National Governments, we will endeavor to associate our own labors:

XX. To establish co-operative institutions, such as will tend to supersede the wage system, by the introduction of a co-operative industrial system.

XXI. To secure for both sexes equal rights.

XXII. To gain some of the benefits of labor-saving machinery by a gradual reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day.

XXIII. To persuade employers to agree to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employees, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary.

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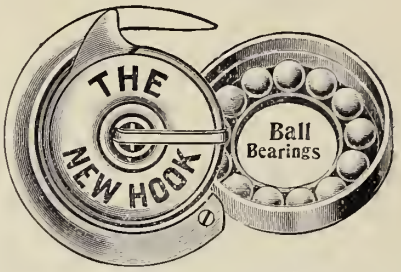
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MAKE IT
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Sewing Machines

for Family and Factory use, for all grades of Cloth and Leather.

Speed and Durablity.
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No. 1 Preservative The best interior varnish for its purposes and price that brains and experience can produce. Less liable to scratch than any finish known. Is not affected by contact with chemical gases, steam or washing with hot or cold water and soap. For Finishing Hospitals, Dwellings, School Houses, Floors, Piazza Ceilings, Stables, Pantries, Laboratories, etc., *interior* work on Steamships, Yachts and vessels of all kinds.

Spar Composition. Composed of the best materials purchasable, is the most durable, the best known and has the largest sale of any Marine Varnish manufactured. Positively salt and fresh waterproof, is invaluable for Exterior Marine work of any kind, and as its name indicates, particularly adapted for Spars of Steamships, Yachts and Canoes. Also a finish for Decks, Outside Doors, Piazza Floors, Store Fronts, etc. It will not crack, turn white or blister.

Waterproof Floor Finish. For Interior Floors, Laundries, Wash Rooms, Oil Cloths, Linoleums, or where a varnish is required that can be frequently washed with hot or cold water and soap without injury, and will resist the action of steam and ammoniac gases. One coat applied to a new oil cloth or linoleum will double its durability. Can be rubbed and left with an egg shell gloss, which is superior to wax finishing and costs less.

Pale Hard Oil Finish. Since its introduction the commendation and sale of this article has proved it to be superior to any in the market for all interior work. Can be relied upon to give full satisfaction when a cheap easy flowing varnish is required.

Liquid Pigment Filler. For Inside or Outside Wood Work. Superior to Shellac for undercoatings. Permanency far greater. Cost about one-fourth. All our goods can be rubbed and polished or left with an egg shell gloss.

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HISTORY OF THE I. O. K. OF L.

The eighteenth annual session of the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor met in the city of New Orleans, La., in November, 1894. At this meeting fourteen duly accredited delegates were denied admission on trumped-up charges, and by transfers on the books of the general office. Among those "locked out" were six representatives of National Trades Assembly 135 (miners)—the largest body of men in the Order. The action which secured this result was so unfair and dishonorable that the delegates who were denied admission, as well as others who were admitted to all the sessions, returned to their respective bodies and submitted reports advising against any further tax being paid to those in control of the Knights of Labor. As the facts became known the dissatisfaction increased. Some of the Trade Assemblies immediately broke away from the corruptly officered organization and joined with other existing organizations of their craft. There was a large body of members who venerated the name of Knight of Labor, but who would not remain associated with, or pay tribute to, known and proven rascals. A correspondence was opened up that resulted in the assembling in the city of Columbus, Ohio, in February, 1895, of members and delegates from the following bodies: D. A. 24, Chicago, Ill.; D. A. 48, Cincinnati, Ohio; D. A. 72, Toledo, Ohio; D. A. 99, Rhode Island; D. A. 147, Albany, N. Y.; D. A. 206, St. Louis, Mo.; N. T. A. 135 (miners), and L. A. 300. Other bodies sent letters, urging independent action and pledging support.

After thoroughly canvassing the matter the delegates decided to continue to battle for the principles for which they had been fighting for years. A new organization was decided upon, to be known as the INDEPENDENT ORDER OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR. A constitution was adopted which is so framed as to prevent general officers from exercising autocratic power, as they have been and are doing in the old K. of L. organization, for the purpose of continuing themselves in office. The following officers were elected to serve until the meeting of the first General Assembly, which was to be convened not later than January 1st, 1896: General Master Workman, Wm. B. Wilson, a miner, of Blossburg, Pa.; General Worthy Foreman, James L. Michels, a glassworker, of Pittsburg, Pa.; General Secretary-Treasurer, Charles R. Martin, clerk, of Tiffin, O. The General Executive Board was made up of three members, in addition to the General Master Workman and General Secretary-Treasurer, as follows: A. W. Simpson, a carpenter, of Chicago, Ill.; Wm. E. Taaffe, machine woodworker, Albany, N. Y., and J. H. Barrett, newspaper solicitor, Leadville, Col. The organization was completed on Friday, February 14th, 1895.



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Special Woodwork

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FIVE MINUTES RIDE FROM CENTER OF THE CITY.

Thousands of people have visited the park during the past season.
THIS PARK TO RENT to Societies, Churches and other organizations for picnics.

ITS EQUAL WILL NOT BE FOUND IN NEW ENGLAND.

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THE BULLARD MACHINE TOOL CO.,

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Manufacturers of Boring and Turning Mills,

LATHES AND TURRET MACHINES.

The first General Assembly met in Tiffin, Ohio, the last week in December, 1895, where the General Officers were all re-elected, except J. H. Barrett. Alex. B. McCulloch, of Manchester, Va., was elected to fill his place on the G. E. B.

The Order sends out the most complete set of supplies furnished by any labor organization. It is out of debt, and quietly working to secure the demands in the declaration of principles.

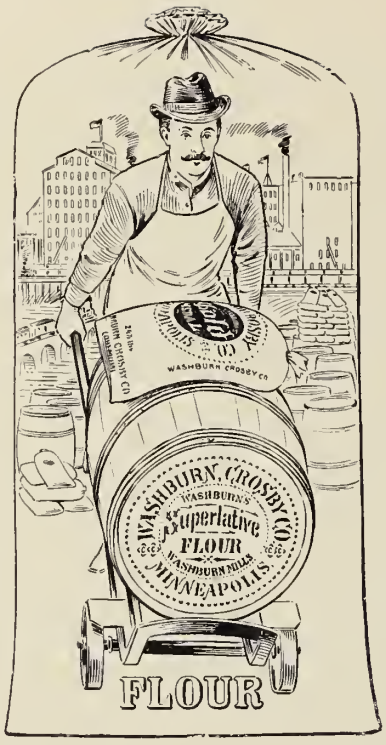
That the true character of the men in control of the old Order may be known, we submit some indisputable facts. The following is a letter written by the man who dominates the body we refused to remain connected with ; it is given just as written and punctuated :

" Philada, Pa, Feb. 1st, 93

"My dear Brother Martin:—

"I am in receipt of your letter and regret to learn that you are not enjoying good health, and that D. A. 72 will not have your valuable assistance in the building up of the Order. I know just what it means to lose any one active man and this is so true in your case. I have read carefully your letter and while I do not desire to be understood as giving advice to one who is my superior in many things yet I cannot refrain from saying dont be a Dam fool and connect yourself with any Labor paper. This may seem strange coming as it does from me, but I know that there is not one success in the entire country, and a man with good health and a first class constitution cannot live under the Strain. You know how hard it is to keep up the Journal, What energy is put into it and still it is a failure, If any one could get subscribers enough to make it pay, we should, but we dont. Now how can you? Take my word for it you will not be able to stand it and dont undertake it Have the old Officers ask Bro, Powderly for dispensation, or if you like I will get it for you from him, just which ever you say. I notice by the papers that the Natural Gas of your State is playing out. I think I can put you on to a plan where you can make a few thousand dollars and not have any work about it. The people who have been using gas will not throw it over now, I am interested in a new Patent Process and if you want to take the matter in hand out there you can not only make some money but put yourself in a good financial condition. Select any Town that has a population of from 3 to 4 thousand or more if you can, where there are no gas Company Organized and arrange for the Organization of a company, Select a few men in the City and have them go in with you for the purpose of getting the Charter. Make your Capital Stock at about $75,000 and if necessary give away $25,000 of to get the right from the Town but that may not be necessary if you get the men of power enough in the town you strike. You can then Bond

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German Silver, Nickel Silver and Silver Metal

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EDWARD RICHARDS,

Successor to

W. H. RICHARDS,

PLUMBER.

49 UNIVERSITY PLACE,

New Number 87.

Telephone Call 172 18th St., NEW YORK.

it for $30,000 and sell them for about $85 this will put in your plant and start you off. The right from here will cost you about $10,000 and that can be had for the Bonds The Holder will cost $3000 that can be had for Bonds. The Pipe will cost 30. dollars a ton, and that can be had for the Bonds. so you see the cost is nothing I will go there and help you to do the work if you can select the place. The process that I speak about will make a fine clear and first class gas for from 15 to 25 cents a thousand in towns of 10,000. people it can be made for 20 cents and in smaller towns for more say about 25 it can be sold lower than the natural gas is being sold and will give a greater satisfaction.

"Besides that we can run a gas engine with the plant and with the gas that is made at about 25 cents run an electric light of two Arc lights to the Horse power and furnish a light for less than one cent per lamp per night. There is not another concern in the Country that can do this. This will not be work that will interfere with your health and if you win you will have made enough to keep you for many MOONS. There are many little places in Ohio that can be had for the asking, if the right man goes, they all want light and are willing to do most anything to get it. In fact some of them go so far as to guarantee the bonds of the company to get it in. Besides it adds to the importance of the Town.

"If you think you can do anything in this line write me and I will help you out. I am now organizing A company for myself and only had to give away $5000. of the stock to get the right. If you could induce any town that has a coal gas system in to put this system in we will devide the profits, I send you a paper and after you have read the paper and letter and if you think you can do anything in let me know. Towns where the Natural gas is running out would be a good place to strike.

"I will stop now and hope to hear from you. As Ever Yours.

"J. W. Hayes."

The records of the Secretary of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, at Harrisburg, show that a general officer and employees of the general office of the Knights of Labor were incorporators of a "Gas, Light, Heat and Power Company."

The following telegrams show how the name of the Order has been used to further the interest of———?

"Chicago, Feb. 28, 1895.—Congressman Aldrich, of Illinois, Washington: District Assembly 24 and conference of thirty-two local assemblies, Knights of Labor, denounce you for opposing cheap gas for the people.

"Joseph Banes,
"Secretary of Conference."

FRANK ULMER. HENRY F. ULMER.

ULMER LEATHER COMPANY,

Tanners and Manufacturers of

Oak = Leather = Belting.

ALSO, SPECIAL LEATHER FOR RUB APRONS.

Rawhide Lace, Hydraulic and Pump Valve Leather.

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The COLUMBIA BREWING CO.

Brewers of

Celebrated Pilsener,

Famous Extra Brew,

and Kloster Brau.

Extra Bottling Beer for Hotel and Family Use.

52-62 Bellevue Street, Hartford, Conn.

W. W. FRICK Manager.

CHRISTIAN FEIGENSPAN'S

Breweries.

Lager Beer, Ales & Porters.

2 to 50 Freeman St., Newark N. J.

HENRY DOERR, Agent

For Naugatuck Valley.

Foot of Judd Street, Waterbury, Conn.

"Washington, D. C., Feb. 28, 1895—Joseph Banes, Secretary, etc., Chicago: My compliments to District Assembly 24, and conference of local assemblies, whose denunciation of my opposition to the granting of a franchise to a fake gas company in the District of Columbia I denounce as a piece of impertinence inspired either by unworthy motives or from an entire ignorance of the situation.

"J. Frank Aldrich."

No such meeting was ever held by District Assembly 24, or by the Locals under its jurisdiction. Congressman Aldrich was a member of the Congressional Committee which has charge of the affairs of the District of Columbia. District 24 officially repudiated this action of Banes, who was the Secretary of the Committee on Appeals and Grievances at the New Orleans General Assembly, in face of the fact that the Secretary of the District was on the ground in person, with protests from a majority of the Assemblies in the District, claiming that the credentials of Banes were forged, and that he had not been a member of the Order the length of time required by the constitution to entitle him to sit in the General Assembly. The General Master Workman issued a special dispensation covering him with this lack of membership—something unheard of. The protest of the Assemblies was never given a hearing, and Banes sat in judgment on men who had spent the best years of their lives in building up the Knights of Labor. Wherever the details of this meeting have become known honest men have revolted.

Another indication of the character of these men is found in the fact that while they were preaching populism in the campaign of 1895, they were issuing a paper from their headquarters which in the main was made up from matter lifted from the forms of their "official organ"; the balance of the space was used to boom Senator Gorman, of Maryland, and his candidate for governor. The paper was sent to Maryland for distribution.

The Rev. Hiram Vrooman, of Baltimore, Md., in writing to a friend regarding this sheet, said:

"As to the *Critic* circulating in Baltimore, I will say I have one copy only put away. It is the most dare-devil and brazen hypocritical sheet that I ever saw * * * * * * . This paper worked for Gorman. I want this paper for future reference. If I can find another copy will send you one.

"Truly yours,

"Hiram Vrooman."

The general public is not interested in the rottenness of the affairs of the old Order, but it may be judged from the above stated facts, which are of public interest.

HUBERT FISCHER, Prest. C. L. FISCHER, Vice-Prest. & Treas. C. E. JOHNSON, Sec'y.

THE HUBERT FISCHER BREWERY,

315 to 327 PARK ST., HARTFORD, CONN.

EXTRA LAGER BEER.

Also THE CELEBRATED COBURGER Brewed only from the Best Malt and Hops For Export and Domestic Use

OUR BOTTLING DEPARTMENT

is now completed and we are prepared to furnish the trade with our

"EXTRA BOHEMIAN" BOTTLED BEER. GIVE IT A TRIAL.

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High Grade Ales,

Lager Beer and Porter.

BOTTLED GOODS A SPECIALTY.

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OVER 500,000 SOLD.

SATISFACTION ASSURED.



SERIES 183-194

MODERN, ARTISTIC, COMPLETE

MANUFACTURED BY

The Richmond Stove Co.,

NORWICH, CONN.



WILLIAM B. WILSON,
General Master Workman, Blossburg, Pa.

WILLIAM B. WILSON,

General Master Workman, Blossburg, Pa.

WILLIAM BAUCHOP WILSON was born April 2nd, 1862. On March 4th, 1871, he started to work in the bituminous coal mines at Arnot, Tioga County, Penn. By close study at home and a few terms at night school he succeeded in getting a very fair education.

In November, 1873 he became a half-member in the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association, of which John Siney was president. In 1876 he was elected secretary of a Local Union at Arnot, Penn.

In 1880 he was victimized for his connection with the K. of L., and being unable to obtain work in the mines, went to work in the woods chopping and peeling hemlock. He afterward returned to the mines, but his employment was exceedingly precarious, because of the unmerciful manner in which the "black list" was used upon him.

In 1888 he was elected Master Workman of the miners' sub-district of Northern Pennsylvania. The year following he was elected a member of the National Executive Board of N. T. A. 135, K. of L. (miners).

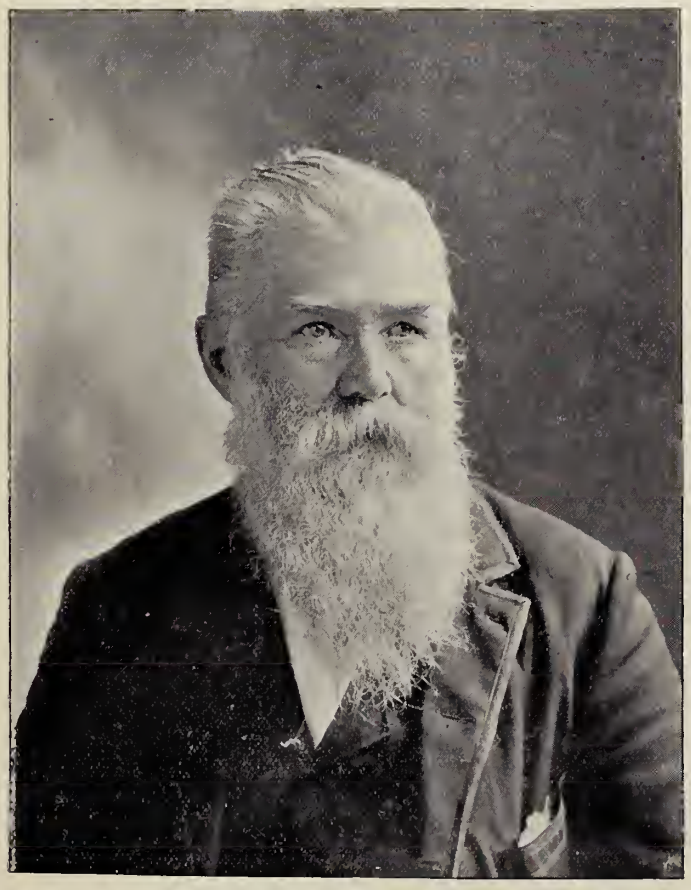
In 1891 he was elected senior member of the National Executive Board of the United Mine Workers of America.

During the great coal miners' strike of 1894 he was given charge of the Maryland coal field, and while there was enjoined by the courts. Two days later he was arrested for contempt, and after a four days' trial was acquitted. He was afterwards arrested for conspiracy, but the case never came to trial, the charges being withdrawn. Mr. Wilson's arrest for conspiracy was performed in such a clandestine manner that he was several days behind prison bars before he was able to communicate with friends and secure bail.

In 1888 he was the Union Labor candidate for the Legislature in Tioga County, Penn., and notwithstanding the fact that it was a presidential year he polled 3,553 votes, the largest ever cast for a third party candidate in that county.

He was elected to the position of General Master Workman of the Independent Order Knights of Labor upon the formation of that body.

Mr. Wilson is a thorough temperance man, never having tasted intoxicating liquors of any kind, nor has he ever used tobacco in any form. He is engaged at the present time in farming and mining, having leased a farm at Blossburg, Penn., for that purpose, where he, his wife and seven children reside.



JAMES L. MICHELS,
General Worthy Foreman, Pittsburg, Pa.

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General Worthy Foreman, Pittsburg, Pa.

JAMES LAUGHLIN MICHELS, General Worthy Foreman, Independent Order Knights of Labor, is one of the best-known labor organizers in America. He has been prominently identified with national labor movements for over a quarter of a century. He first came prominently before the labor element in 1859 and assisted in organizing the first union of Window Glass Workers that approached anything like success, and chiefly through Mr. Michels' individual efforts in 1861 it attained a legal standing by securing from the Legislature of Pennsylvania the first charter granted by that body to any organization for purely trade protection. This organization was known as the Window Glass Blowers' Union, and during its existence was able to accomplish many reforms in the trade, principally relieving the blower from paying the gatherer and flattener.

In 1862 Mr. Michels was prominently identified in organizing the Iron and Steel Workers under the name of the Sons of Vulcan. From this organization developed the present Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

The Window Glass Blowers' Union not being sufficiently wide in scope, and believing a national organization would further the interests of the Window Glass Workers, Mr. Michels opened a correspondence with the leading glass workers of the United States, with the result that a national convention was held on the South Side, Pittsburg, Pa., July 12, 1874, where the Artsman's Window Glass Workers' Association was organized. Shortly after the organization of the Artsman's Association a long and disastrous strike followed. During this strike it became apparent that it was unwise in a labor organization to have its officers widely scattered, as much delay resulted in communicating with them. Mr. Michels, taught by experience, began advocating that an organization with a central head, with powers approaching that of a dictator, would best subserve the interests of the glass workers, and won a number of the leaders to his way of thinking; and during the spring of 1878 he, with nine associates, were secretly covered with the shield of the Knights of Labor by Uriah Stevens, the founder of that organization and first Grand Master Workman. Mr. Michels and his nine associates became the foundation on which was built Window Glass Workers' L. A. 300.

After the Window Glass Workers of the United States were organized, the eyes of the glass workers were turned towards Europe and the demoralized condition of the trade on the continent. In 1880 Mr. Michels was commissioned by the Executive Board of the Knights of Labor to go to Europe and organize the trades. During the summer of 1880 he visited England, France, Germany and Belgium, and organized trade locals in all of those countries except Germany; in the latter country the legal restrictions were such that the workmen could not be induced to organize.

Mr. Michels was a delegate to the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor at Richmond, Va., also at New Orleans, La.

When the Independent Order of the Knights of Labor was organized at Columbus, O., in 1895, Mr. Michels was unanimously elected General Worthy Foreman. Mr. Michels' success as an organizer is in a measure due to his faculty of making and retaining friends.

Mr. Michels was born in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, on March 17th, 1832. His ancestors participated in the Revolutionary War against England.



CHAS. R. MARTIN,

General Secretary-Treasurer, Tiffin, Ohio.

CHARLES R. MARTIN,

General Secretary-Treasurer, Tiffin, O.

CHARLES ROLLIN MARTIN began "kicking" on the 21st day of October, 1856, in the village of Clyde, Sandusky County, Ohio. His paternal ancestors came from the "Green Isle" in time to help in the battles of 1812. His maternal ancestors were Pennsylvania Dutch. By trade he is a creamery buttermaker, but most of his life has been spent as a clerk in various capacities. His first wages were earned as a telegraph messenger.

Before attaining his majority he became interested in the subject of currency reform, and was a delegate to the national convention of the Greenback Party in 1880. In 1894 he headed the People's Party state ticket in Ohio, as candidate for Secretary of State, receiving 49,495 votes. The vote in 1893 was 15,563. "Keep in the middle of the road" is his motto.

Peter Cooper Local Assembly, No. 2698, Knights of Labor, admitted him to membership in 1883, and he served as its recording secretary for years. When the Local affiliated with District Assembly No. 72 he was made one of the delegates to that body, of which he was later made Secretary-Treasurer, serving for several terms. As Representative from D. A. 72 he attended the sessions of the General Assembly at St. Louis, Philadelphia and New Orleans. At the Philadelphia session his name was placed in nomination for Secretary-Treasurer against John W. Hayes. This was done against his wish and will.

Being one of those who were denied admission to the New Orleans G. A., though holding receipts from the general office entitling him to a seat, his district joined in the formation of the I. O. K. of L., at the organization of which he was made General Secretary-Treasurer and re-elected at the first annual meeting.



I. N. ROSS,
Pittsburg, Pa.



A. W. SIMPSON,
Chicago, Ill.

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WILLIAM E. TAAFFE,
Albany, N. Y.



ALEX. B. McCULLOCH,
Manchester, Va.

I. N. ROSS,

Member of the General Executive Board, Pittsburg, Pa.

ISAAC NEWTON ROSS, who was elected a member of the General Executive Board of the Independent Order of Knights of Labor at the Tiffin session of the General Assembly was born in Allegheny City, Pa., April 2nd, 1849, where he received a common school education. After leaving school he learned the trade of machinery moulding. In 1868 he went to Butler, Pa., was appointed Chief Clerk in the Prothonotary's Office, and in 1869 was appointed Deputy Sheriff. Resumed the trade of machinery moulding, and in 1876 was bookkeeper for Columbus Coleman & Son, wagon manufacturers. In 1881 joined the K. of L., and soon after was elected Secretary of D. A. 3. In 1883 removed to Philadelphia and accepted the position of Chief Bookkeeper in the Knights of Labor Headquarters, resigned the position after serving two years, and again resumed his trade; but in a short time he was elected as Secretary-Treasurer of D. A. 3, and later was made District Master Workman, which position he held until April, 1890, when he resigned to accept the position of Deputy Surveyor of Customs at Pittsburg, under Capt. John F. Dravo.

He has served as representative from District Assembly No. 3, K. of L., at the following conventions: Philadelphia in 1884; Richmond, Va., in 1886; Atlanta, Ga , in 1889, and the famous convention at New Orleans, La., in 1894, which caused the formation of the I. O. K. of L.

He is still in the office of the Surveyor of the Port of Pittsburg, and is considered a cool-headed, conservative leader, and has a host of friends in the ranks of the toilers. He is married and lives in Pittsburg.

AMOS W. SIMPSON,

Member of the General Executive Board, Chicago, Illinois.

AMOS W. SIMPSON was born in Adams County, Pennsylvania, in the year 1852, and after receiving the average boy's education in the public schools, he served a four years' apprenticeship at the carpenter trade. In the spring of 1870 he acted on the advice of Horace Greeley, which landed him in Sterling, Ill., where he remained until 1874, when the panic robbed him of his all. Returning to his native State he found that conditions there were as bad as those he had left. In 1876 he had worked his way to St. Joseph, Mo., and as shop foreman his prospects were bright, but being defrauded of his wages he moved on to Leavenworth, Kan., where he organized the first wood-workers' union in the State. Took part in the formation of the Independent Political Party at this point in 1878. The black list forced him to move once more, and in 1880 he came to Chicago, where he joined the K. of L. and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in 1885. Organized Eight Hour Leagues during the struggle of 1886. L. A. 9272 sent him as their delegate to the sessions of D. A. 57 for a succession of terms. Served as D. M W., and represented the body in the G. A. at Denver. After the consolidation of the Districts in Chicago he served as R. S. of D. A. 24, which latter body joined the I. O. K. of L., at the organization of which the subject of this sketch was elected a member of the G. E. B. and re-elected at the first G. A. He is serving his third term as Secretary of the Carpenters' Executive Council in the city of Chicago.

He has been "in the middle of the road" since Peter Cooper's time; was a delegate to the St. Louis conference, Feb. 22nd, 1892, and to the Omaha Convention in July following.

WILLIAM E. TAAFFE,

Member of the General Executive Board, Albany, N. Y.

WILLIAM E. TAAFFE first saw the light of day on the 23rd of November, 1864, in the city of Albany, New York, being the first of five children born to John Jerome Taaffe, whose father came to America in 1828. At the age of thirteen years the subject of this sketch began the battle of life as a wage earner, learning the trade of wood turning, and later became a general machinery wood worker. He continues to work in the same shop where he took his first lesson and for the same employer. Young Taaffe lost his mother when he was but ten years of age and his father died three years later, leaving him to battle against great disadvantages. His experience has made him a true friend of the down-trodden of earth.

Joining the Knights of Labor in 1884, he served in every office within the gift of his Local, and for years was the delegate to District Assembly 147, of which he became the honored M. W. after a stubborn and successful fight to rid it of the political pirates in control. His election to this office for the last three terms was unanimous, as was his selection as the representative to the New Orleans session of the G. A. On reporting the action of this meeting to the District, it was decided to unite with the men who would not compromise with corruption, and D. A. 147, joined in the formation of the I. O. K. of L., at the organization of which Wm. E. Taaffe was made a member of the General Executive Board, and re-elected at the first annual meeting.

He has served as Vice-President of the Congress of the K. of L. of New York State, and he represented the Populists of Albany County at the Omaha Convention of the Peoples Party.

ALEXANDER B. McCULLOCH,

Member of the General Executive Board, Manchester, Va.

ALEXANDER BRODIE McCULLOCH was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, August 27, 1867. His parents emigrated to this country when he was about four years old, settling near Richmond, Va., where he still lives. When in his fourteenth year he left school for the printing office, and five years later, on the completion of his apprenticeship, joined Richmond Typographical Union, No. 90, of which organization he has served in the several capacities of President, Trustee, Secretary of the Advisory Board, Representative to the International Convention which met at Louisville in 1894, and as delegate to the Richmond Trades and Labor Council for two years. In the latter body he filled the offices of Corresponding and Recording Secretary for one year, and has done much work as organizer. His services before the Virginia Legislature in 1895, as Chairman of the Trades Council's Legislative Committee, having charge of several labor measures, were so satisfactory as to lead the recently formed State Labor Federation of Virginia to unanimously elect him as Chairman of its Legislative Committee, although he was not a delegate to the convention.

In 1895 he organized an Assembly of the I. O. K. of L. in Richmond and was Master Workman of same for two terms, and at the General Assembly of the Order, held at Tiffin, Ohio, he was elected a member of the General Executive Board.

In economics he is a Christian Socialist, of the school of Bellamy and Lloyd. In politics he affiliates with the Peoples Party, and was a delegate to the St. Louis Convention, where he advocated to the end a "middle-of-the-road" policy.

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DANGEROUS MIDDLEMEN.

Our Granger, Alliance, and Patron of Industry friends have devoted much time and attention to the middleman in commerce, with a view to escaping his heavy toll on productive industry.

My subject, "Dangerous Middlemen," relates to a class of individuals whom both the producers on the farm and in the factory are coming to realize as the most expensive, unscrupulous, corrupting and dangerous middlemen of all. I mean the middlemen in politics—the lobbyist and "boodler"—the fellows whom the newspapers jokingly refer to as the "third house" when our state legislatures or congress are assembled, and who are there or thereabouts when our city councils meet—yes, and many of our county commissioners are not unacquainted with the dangerous middlemen.

How to escape them and their influence is a question which confronts the people of the United States. The little republic of Switzerland has answered the question for us.

The labor organizations of this country are pointing to Switzerland and urging the people of the United States to profit by the example there presented, just as they pointed to South Australia in urging the adoption of the Australian ballot.

Have you ever thought of the radical difference between a democracy and a representative government?

In a democracy the citizens themselves make the law and superintend its administration; in a representative government the citizens empower legislators and executive officers to make the law and carry it out. Under a democracy sovereignty remains uninterruptedly with the citizens, or rather a changing majority of the citizens; under a representative government sovereignty is surrendered by the citizens, for stated terms, to officials. In other words, democracy is direct rule by the majority, while representative government is ruled by succession of quasi-oligarchies, indirectly and remotely responsible to the majority.

Observe, now, first the influences that chiefly contribute to make government in the United States what it is: the county, state and federal government are not democracies. In form they are quasi-oligarchies composed of representatives and executives, but in fact they are frequently complete oligarchies, composed in part of unending rings of politicians that directly control the law and the offices, and are part of the permanent plutocracy which purchases legislation through the politicians. Observe next certain strong influences for the better that obtain in a pure democracy: An obvious influence is, in one respect, the same as that which enriches the plutocrat and prompts the politician to reach for power—self-interest. When all the members of any body find themselves in equal relation to a profitable end in which they solely are concerned, they will surely be inclined to assert their joint independence of other

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bodies in that respect, and further, each member will claim his share of whatever benefits arise. But more than all that, something like equality of benefits being achieved, perhaps through various agencies of force a second influence will be brought powerfully to bear on those concerned. It is that of justice. Fair play to all the members will be generally demanded.

The republic of Switzerland is rapidly developing a pure democracy, and by one law-making method is abolishing the political "ring," "boss" and "heeler." This law-making method is Direct Legislation by the citizenship through the Initiative and Referendum.

Under the Swiss federal constitution adopted in 1874, a petition signed by 30,000 voters will compel the submission to popular vote of any law passed by the federal council (congress). Thus the people have the veto power 365 days a year. This is what is known as the referendum in its optional form.

There are 22 cantons (states) in Switzerland, made up from 2,796 communes (townships), in nearly all of which the referendum is now in operation. In some only by petition of a certain number of citizens, same as the federal referendum ; in others all laws of a certain class or kind *must* be submitted to a popular vote for approval, while in others every law must be voted upon by the people before becoming operative. This is known as the obligatory referendum, and is the form being gradually adopted by the cantons.

The initiative provides that a given per cent. of qualified voters can petition the cantonal or federal councils for the framing and submission of any law asked for. This is mandatory ; the councils cannot pigeonhole a petition of this kind. Thus you see that the Swiss lead the world in pure democracy. Through the initiative any citizen can propose a law, providing he can secure the required signatures to a petition, and the citizens can always kill boodle or class legislation by the referendum.

In 1860 but 34 per cent. of the Swiss possessed the referendum, while 66 per cent. delegated their sovereign rights to representatives. In 1870, 71 per cent. had acquired the referendum, and to-day there are more than 90 per cent. enjoying this safeguard to good government.

This simply means that the Swiss people found it necessary to revolt against their plutocracy and corrupt politicians who were exploiting the country through the representative system.

The results from the operation of the Initiative and Referendum may be judged by taking as an example Zurich, a canton where the obligatory referendum prevails. It has 340,000 inhabitants, with 80,000 votes. It legislature consists of one house, as in all the cantons. The body is made up of one hundred members. It prints no records, rarely listens to a set speech, knows nothing of bribery, holds two or three brief sessions annually, and passes less than four laws a year. The people, and the people only, have the veto, and have it on all legislation. In this fact is explained the simplicity, economy, honesty and publicity of legislation in Zurich to-day. Thirty years ago its legislature did as our legislatures do now. There is no sinecure office in Zurich. The pay of officials is light—members of the legislature, for example, receiving $1.20 a day while attending sessions. Few vestiges remain of the confusion of laws, the public extravagance, the partisan feeling, the personal campaigns characteristic of Zurich's old-time representative government.

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One striking example of the economic changes taking place in Zurich must here suffice in lieu of many that might be quoted. The popular vote has transferred the center of gravity of taxation from the poor to the rich. Forty years ago all the taxes were indirect (on commodities) and consequently in the end paid by the consumers, the masses. To-day 32 out of every 34 francs are direct, and stay where they are put—on the men of wealth. Taxation is mainly on inheritances, incomes and high-priced real estate—in each case graduated. Direct inheritances are lightly taxed; collateral, or non-relatives, heavily. Every citizen pays an income tax—the average laborer about $5.00 per year and the millionaire at least $5,000. The income tax is collected with as little difficulty as any other; every man assesses himself, and as the property of each will pass through the courts after his death, subject to a fine if it has been under-assessed, and as the tax-payer is in doubt as to the day of his death, he has a strong incentive to assess himself wisely. The rising tax on real estate catches a part of the speculative values.

The operation of the Initiative and Referendum in Switzerland is attracting the attention of students and promoters of good government all over the world. It first received attention in the United States through a series of letters published in the *New York Evening Post* during the spring and summer of 1890, written by W. D. McCracken, and another series in the *New York Times* about the same time, by J. W. Sullivan. In March, 1891, the *Arena* magazine printed an article from Mr. McCracken entitled "The Swiss Referendum." In April, 1891, J. W. Sullivan contributed an article for *Chatauquan* magazine. In 1892 J. W. Sullivan issued a book of 120 pages, entitled "Direct Legislation," which went through several editions that sold for 25 cents per copy. During the past year an edition has been issued at 10 cents per copy, which can be obtained by addressing *The Coming Nation*, Ruskin, Tennessee.

In May, 1894, Mr. Sullivan began the publication of the *Direct Legislation Record*, a little quarterly devoted to advancing the principle of the Initiative and Referendum (and it is from his book and paper that the matter for this article is obtained). As a result of the agitation, non-partisan organizations were formed in several states.

During the past two years the cause of Direct Legislation has made wonderful progress by reason of the aggressive campaign carried on through reform papers by Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy, of New Jersey, whose efforts secured the formation of a National Direct Legislation League in the city of St. Louis, Mo., on July 21st, 1896, the officers of which are: President, Eltweed Pomeroy, Newark, N. J.; Recording Secretary, Jesse White, Omaha, Neb.; Corresponding Secretary, J. W. Arrowsmith, Orange, N. J.; Treasurer, J. V. L. Pierson, Glen Ridge, N. J. One dollar sent to the latter gentleman will secure membership in the league, with copy of the *Record* for one year.

Tiffin, Ohio, August, 1896. CHAS. R. MARTIN.

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GOVERNMENT BY INJUNCTION.

The form of government in the United States of America, and the various states of which it is composed, is that of a trinity. There is a legislature to enact, a judiciary to interpret, and an executive to enforce the laws. Each department has a duty and jurisdiction peculiarly its own.

The legislative department is the basis of the structure. Here the people meet, through their representatives, make and unmake laws, and, if they so desire, take the initial steps for a change in the form of government. It can increase or diminish the powers, privileges or emoluments of either the executive or judiciary, and with the consent of the people can abolish either or both.

Yet, with these powers clearly vested in our legislative bodies by our fundamental laws and the common consent of our people, there has been a gradual, persistent and insidious tendency on the part of the judiciary to usurp the powers of legislation, and, by means of injunctions, make laws and abolish the constitutional right of trial by jury.

Injunctions are not a modern innovation in the jurisprudence of the world. They can be traced into the remote past, and have been handed down to us in the direct line of descent from the days of absolute despotisms, when the monarch, combining in his own person the legislative, judicial and executive, issued his edict personally, or through his judicial agents, restraining persons from doing those things which were obnoxious or distasteful to him.

Professor Muirhead, of Edinburgh University, in discussing Roman law says: "The practice of propounding edicts was very ancient, and had been followed by kings and consuls long before the institution of the prætorship. It was one of the most obvious ways of exercising the *imperium* with which the supreme magistrate was invested, to lay an injunction upon a citizen and enforce its obedience." But in no event was an injunction issued where the case was already covered by previous edicts.

In the early English practice, from which our system is derived, the Court of Chancery had the sole privilege of issuing injunctions, but in this case, as in all other cases where special privilege gives increased power, that power has been used as a means of still further increase, until to-day, not only the Court of Chancery, but the Common Law Courts also, maintain the right to issue an injunction in any case whatsoever.

Upon this claim of the English common law courts, our state and federal courts base their opportunity to issue injunctions, or, in other words, to legislate for the American people or any portion of them.

It is true that our courts have, until recently, been very discreet in the use of this power, but the fact cannot be successfully disputed that the wholesale manner in which injunctions have been issued during the past three years, to advance the interests of monopolists

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and curtail the rights of wage-workers and other citizens, makes an absolute despotism of our judiciary, and our boasted freedom a deplorable farce. By the decisions of our courts, a judge in chambers may issue an injunction, and it does not matter that the persons enjoined may have a legal and moral right to do that which they have been restrained from doing: the violation of the injunction is held to be contempt,—the dignity of the court has been assailed, and the person whose dignity has been wounded, and who is therefore the real prosecutor, sits in judgment on the case, formulates the sentence, and from his decision there is no appeal.

Where in all the ages that have rolled into eternity since time began will you find a more despotic government than that? A judge issues an edict saying: "Thou shalt," or, "Thou shall not," and that edict has all the force of law,—it is law until the court issuing it withdraws or repeals the same. He may issue it against one individual or against thousands—yes, millions. He can issue a warrant for the arrest of the persons enjoined, alleging contempt, bring them before him for trial, be the sole judge of them in law and in fact, sentence them to any fine or imprisonment that his wisdom or malignity may suggest, and from his decision no appeal can be taken. No king, no emperor, no czar, either of ancient or modern times, ever possessed a greater power over their subjects than that exercised by our modern courts.

The following is a quotation from an injunction issued by the Circuit Court of Alleghany Co., Md., at the instance of the Consolidated Coal Co., the writer and seventy-four others being specifically named and many hundreds involved: "Therefore you, the said William B. Wilson et al, your servants, agents, confederates, aiders and abettors, are hereby enjoined and strictly prohibited from continuing your unlawful assemblies on or near to the paths and approaches leading to the mines of said Consolidation Coal Company, and from continuing to assemble there with intent to forcibly prevent the miners working for the Consolidation Coal Company in its said mines from going to work therein, and from then and there using threats, menaces, shouts, show of force or offers of violence, to interfere with, prevent and stop the miners working in the mines of the Consolidation Coal Company from continuing their labors therein, and from using any of the aforesaid means to prevent the said Consolidation Coal Company from continuing its business of mining and shipping coal from its said mines, until the further order of this court. Witness the Hon. A. H. Boyd, Chief Judge of the said court, the 7th day of May, 1894."

It will be observed that the court orders certain assemblies to disperse as unlawful, and that too without being on the ground or having heard any evidence in the case. If an unlawful assembly had taken place the statute and common law provided a means of redress. To endeavor to prevent any man from working, by threats, menaces, etc., in itself constituted a violation of law, and redress could be had by the usual process. It does not change the position any to assert that life and property were endangered and more prompt action than the usual process of law was necessary to protect them. Even when an injunction has been issued, an arrest for contempt cannot obtain until it has been alleged that some overt act has taken place. Law cannot prevent crime, neither can an injunction. What they can do is to punish the individual when the fact is determined that a violation has taken place. But in the first instance, that of law, a jury of twelve, neither of whom have any personal interest in the case, determine the fact; while in the second, that of injunction, the fact is determined and the

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punishment inflicted by an interested person, whose authority is alleged to have been held in contempt. Hence it follows that the objects sought by an injunction are, first, to evade a trial by jury, and second, to double the punishment for the alleged offence ; and both objects are unconstitutional.

Section 2 of Article 3 of the Federal Constitution says : " The trials of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury." In answer to this section we are told that contempt is not a *criminal case*, but a *civil action*. If that be true, then no court has any constitutional right to imprison any person for contempt. The thirteenth amendment declares : " Neither slavery nor *involuntary servitude*, except as a punishment for *crime* whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." Yet Eugene V. Debs and his associates were imprisoned upon a charge of contempt. If the alleged offence is a crime, they were constitutionally entitled to a trial by jury; if it is not a crime, then it was an unwarrantable assumption of authority—a clear violation of the constitution on the part of the judge to force them into " involuntary servitude."

And when a contempt case has been disposed of " the end is not yet," for if the persons have been accused of " threats, menaces, show of force or offers of violence," as the usual injunction in a labor case reads, they are still amenable to the common or statute law, and can thus be punished a second time for the same offence, notwithstanding the fifth amendment to the constitution says : " Nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life and limb."

Of course, the judge, as usual, finds a ready excuse for this pernicious infringement of the letter and spirit of the constitution, and tells us that the one sentence is for a violation of an order of court and the other sentence is for breaking the law. But no amount of sophistry can overcome the fact that the same overt act is held to constitute both crimes, and consequently a person can be punished twice for the same offence, and as trial by jury is denied in one of the cases, he may be punished once without having committed any offence. Here again we are met with a plausible story : " Judges are learned in the law ; they are trained to decide between the truthful and untruthful witness, and can discern those fine points in a case which a common every day jury would fail to observe." A very fine story indeed, but judicial affairs have demonstrated that judges are human and prone to human errors. They have ambitions to satisfy—wealth and power to attain. The law is stretched and often broken in the interests of those who have wealth and power to bestow, by men clothed with judicial authority, who " crook the pregnant hinges of the knee, that thrift may follow fawning." It is true that there are many judges who hear and determine with conscientious care, but in such case it is not the judicial ermine, but the sturdy honesty of the man, that gives a just decision.

Selden in his *Table Talk* says : " Equity is according to the conscience of him that is Chancellor, and as that is larger or narrower, so is equity. It is all one, as if they should make the standard for the measure we call a foot, a Chancellor's foot. One Chancellor has a long foot, another a short foot, another an indifferent foot ; it is the same thing as a Chancellor's conscience." Whether it is a cringing, time-serving sycophant or an honest, conscientious judge ; whether it is a Jeffreys or a Jay, it is the man that renders the decision and not the judge.

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Plug and Cut Plug Tobaccos,

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The broad scope that has recently been given to injunctions places an unlimited power in the hands of one man, and it makes no difference whether we call that man a czar or a judge, the result is the same. If he has a right to restrain a thousand men, the same right would apply to a million. If he can by law restrain a portion of the people, he can by the same law restrain the remainder and thus make himself dictator. The people might be safe with such power in the hands of a Jay or a Marshall, but place it in the hands of a Jeffreys, a Ricks, a Woods or a Grosscup, and freedom will be abolished and the people become slaves. Those who have not felt the heavy hand of this despotic system may feel secure in the enjoyment of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," but it is a false security. The power that can break the constitution to crush the employees of a coal king or a railroad magnate,—that can restrain the competitors of the Standard Oil Company or the Pennsylvania Railroad,—can destroy the business and curtail the liberties of any citizen of the United States whenever it suits the purpose of that power to do so.

There is no one right for which the people have contended with as much persistency as that of trial by jury. The Magna Charter of 1215 declared that "No freeman shall be taken, or imprisoned or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way distrained, nor will we pass upon him, except by the judgment of his peers." The charter granted by Charles II, in 1682, to the American Colonies, in paragraph 33 calls for a trial by jury. The Declaration of Independence gives as one of the causes of the separation : "For depriving us in many cases of the benefit of trial by jury." The constitutions of the United States and of the several states guarantee this right. In England 16 wars were waged, 31 acts of parliament passed and 19 judges hanged or banished that this right might be maintained. In America scores of judges, from the days of Nicholas More until the present time, have been impeached and deposed for usurping the power of a jury, and in the face of all this we are asked to yield up the right of the people to make laws and to have a trial by jury, because we have a supreme contempt for the judicial mountebank who sets himself up as superior to the law of the land.

If the liberties of the American people are to be maintained ; if we are to perpetuate a "government of the people, for the people and by the people"; if we would prevent a monied oligarchy from usurping the powers of the Republic, the power to issue injunctions must be taken from our courts; persons must be punished for the crimes they have committed when a jury of their peers have determined the crime, and under no pretense must they be jeopardized of life and limb twice for the same offence. If the punishment prescribed by law does not give sufficient redress, the proper place to seek a remedy is with our Congress and our various legislatures; but to place within the hands of one man the power to make, interpret and enforce our laws is absolute despotism,—foreign to our institutions and subversive of the rights of man.

W. B. WILSON.

Blossburg, Penn., September, 1896.

THE THREE STANDARD BRANDS OF NEW ENGLAND.

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PLUG AND CUT PLUG.

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"OURS IS THE BEST."

THE OPPORTUNITY OF TO-DAY

"Whither? oh! whither?" The despairing cry rings in our ears. The poor, deluded groundlings are at last awakening to a sense of the true condition of things. There they stand, helpless, hopeless, not knowing in which direction to turn for relief Leaders in whom but yesterday they confided are to-day found to be Iscariots. Political parties have fallen into disgrace; the old ones have sold the people's birthright, those of more recent formation will follow in the footsteps of their seniors—thus reason the "voting kings." Infidelity, distrust, pessimism, class hate—these noxious weeds have rooted themselves deeply in the hearts and minds of the masses. The spirit of revolution is rife everywhere. The darkening clouds hang dangerously low. Plutocracy seems intent on precipitating the crash. Witness the coercive measures that are daily being employed to thwart the popular desire and to forge new fetters for the unfortunate plebeian. See the laws of the land and the constitutional rights of the citizens set at naught by the arrogant nabobs who have stolen their way into power and who will stoop to any crime in order to perpetuate their reign over the people.

Far-seeing men realize the purpose of plutocracy in pressing revolution on the country at this time. The capitalist class knows full well that private monopoly is doomed the very moment the masses of the people become versed in economic science. Its plan is to force the conflict ere opportunity is afforded the wealth producer to employ the only means by which industrial emancipation can be attained. The events that are taking place in France, Germany, Switzerland and Belgium are striking terror to the hearts of the mammon-worshippers of the United States. The decision arrived at is that the American wage-earner must be deprived of all opportunity of using the ballot as a means of establishing the co-operative commonwealth. Civil war might result in the setting up of an imperialism or an autocracy; it would at least entail terrible suffering on the people and render progress in social reform impossible for many years to come.

This diabolical scheme of plutocracy must be defeated at all hazards. No greater calamity could befall the nation at this time than an appeal to arms. War has always been the rich man's benefactor; the burdens and sufferings have ever fallen to the lot of the poor. In those countries in which the greatest social and industrial progress is being achieved the war spirit is being discountenanced by the workers, and the motto is "Ballots, not bullets!" The result is eminently gratifying.

The calamitous tide which is sweeping over our country can be and must be stemmed by organized labor. The grandest opportunity ever afforded us presents itself to-day. Will we avail ourselves of it and thus assist in the sublime work of rearing a social structure which shall have as its foundation-stones liberty, justice, equality, fraternity?

If organized labor would meet this great emergency, radical departures must be made from the existing order of affairs. In the first place there is not room in this country for half a dozen separate and conflicting classes of labor organizations. The time has come when workingmen must get together, not stay apart. Centralization is the weapon that capitalism has wielded against us so successfully; centralization must henceforth be our instrument also. For years the heart's desire of broad-minded men has been that a union of labor's forces might be effected and a progressive policy adopted which might meet the needs and secure the support of all. We are all getting tired of the waste of time and energy and money which is required for the maintenance of a multiplicity of general organizations where one could do the work infinitely better, cheaper and quicker. The time is ripe for the consummation of this most important object.

THE

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The "Gold" and The "Silver"

PERFECT IN FIT AND FINISH.

The Trojan Shirt & Collar Co.

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The fruits of the amalgamation thus brought about would, however, be measured by the policy adopted. If it would rise to no higher plane of effort than that being prosecuted at present by the American Federation of Labor and the several railroad "brotherhoods," its formation would be so much time and work thrown away. Organizations which antagonize the discussion of political and economic questions in labor meetings at a time such as this, when the very lives and liberties of the wageworker hang in the balance, are unworthy of the support of the toiler ; they are an obstacle in the path of industrial progress and are false to the interests of those whom they claim to represent. Had our trades unionists, during the past ten years, been receiving their political instruction in the union meetings instead of from pettifogging politicians, the enemies of the people would not have dared to force upon the nation the alarming conditions of to-day. Education and united political action are the only means by which labor organizations can hope to advance the interests of their members and their class, and defeat the anarchists of wealth in their attempts at inciting civil strife. When common-sense methods are put into operation confidence and activity will displace mistrust and apathy ; our numbers will be greatly augmented and our influence extended, and friendly economists like Prof. Ely will no longer have reason to complain of the ultra-conservatism and short-sightedness of organized labor. Then, instead of gazing supinely on the scene of men, women and children—our flesh and our blood—being ruthlessly sacrificed upon the altar of greed, we will be prepared to hasten to the rescue, strike down the oppressor, cut the cords which bind the captive, and destroy forever the incentive which prompts men to act as demons.

Arouse, then, to the call of duty, of suffering humanity, ye hosts of organized labor! There is not a moment to be lost. Another Homestead, another Pullman, and we may be too late. The eye of the world is on us in this great crisis. The lives and liberties of millions of God's children are at stake. Shall we be equal to the emergency?

Listen to the inspiring strains of the song of the poet of the people, James G. Clark :

"Swing inward, O gates of the future!
Swing outward, ye doors of the past!
For the soul of the people is moving
And rising from slumber at last ;
The black forms of night are retreating,
The white peaks have signalled the day,
And Freedom her long roll is beating,
And calling her sons to the fray.

And woe to the rule that has plundered!
And trod down the wounded and slain,
While the wars of the Old Time have thundered,
And men poured their life tide in vain ;
The day of its triumph is ending,
The evening draws near with its doom,
And the star of its strength is descending
To sleep in dishonor and gloom.

* * * * * *

Swing inward, O gates of the future!
Swing outward, ye doors of the past!
A giant is waking from slumber,
And rending his fetters at last ;
From the dust where his proud tyrants found him,
Unhonored and scorned and betrayed,
He shall rise with the sunlight around him,
And rule in the realm he has made."

ALEX. B. McCULLOCH.

Manchester, Va., September, 1896.

500,000 KEYS

Are in daily use by workmen for keeping their own time on the

BUNDY TIME RECORDERS.

They are the workingmen's friends, and their adoption in factories and workshops should be urged by every friend of labor. Every honest workman wants his time kept on the *Bundy Time Recorder*. He gets credit for full time he works, and cannot suffer through any petty spite of the time-keeper or employer. Ask any Knight of Labor whose time has been kept on the Recorders, and he will tell you he don't want any other system of time keeping. We ask the assistance of all workingmen in extending their adoption and use in every workshop.

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Postal Savings Banks.

The following bill is pending in the present Congress, and is in the hands of the Committee noted.

54TH CONGRESS,
1ST SESSION.

H. R. 5113.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

JANUARY 29, 1896.

MR. ALLEN, of Utah, introduced the following bill, which was referred to the Committee on the Post-Office and Post Roads and ordered to be printed.

A BILL

To authorize money-order post-offices to receive money on deposit.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That each and every money-order post-office be, and the same is hereby, authorized and directed to receive on deposit lawful money of the United States, including national-bank notes and the postal notes hereinafter specified, and to hold the same subject to the draft or order of the depositor; such deposits to draw interest at the rate of three per centum per annum and to be exempt from taxation.

SEC. 2. The moneys so deposited may be drawn upon by the Secretary of the Treasury to pay maturing obligations of the United States, to meet temporary deficiencies in the current revenues, and any surplus remaining may be loaned by said Secretary of the Treasury to states, counties, townships, or municipalities, on the security of their bonds, at a rate not less than three and one-half per centum per annum and to an amount not exceeding ten per centum of the assessed valuation of the realty assessed in such state, county, township, or municipality.

SEC. 3. That if any depositor shall demand his deposit, in whole or in part, and the postmaster have not on hand sufficient coin, Treasury notes and national-bank notes to meet such demand, he shall issue to such depositor the amount demanded in postal notes in denominations of one, two, five or ten dollars, as the depositor may elect, and such notes shall be full legal tender for all dues and obligations, public or private, contracted after the passage of this Act; and when any such note is received at any post-office, custom-house or sub-treasury of the United States it shall not be reissued, but shall be sent to the Treasury at Washington for cancellation.

SEC. 4. That the Postmaster-General shall cause to be provided the pass books, postal notes, checks, and other blanks necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act; and for this purpose the sum of . . . is hereby appropriated.

SEC. 5. That this Act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

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BREAD and ROLLS.

ICE CREAM AND WATER ICES

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Union Dime Savings Institution,

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Open Mondays, 10 to 7; Saturdays, 10 to 12; Other Days, 10 to 3.
Interest from the first of each quarter on sums from $5. to $3,000.
The Principal Modern Languages spoken.

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COTTON WADDING AND BATTING.

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Some Comments on the Postal Savings Bank Bill.

A private banking corporation is always and of necessity insolvent; that is, if it were called upon to pay its deposits payable by agreement on demand, not one of them could pay to exceed 25 cents on the dollar. May 7th, 1896, the New York National Banks had call deposits of $498,000,000 in round numbers. They had cash to meet obligations, $119,000,000, not quite 25 per cent., and they are the strongest banks in the country. The same fact is true, only more so, of the whole of the banks in the country, National, State and Savings. One-eighth of their depositors can, by withdrawing their deposits and locking them up, produce a contraction of upwards of one-half the circulating medium of the country

Against this insolvent system this bill proposes a bank which is always solvent, which can at all times and under all emergencies return a person his deposit in full legal-tender currency and no "clearing house certificate" fakes about it. Once let a man have his deposit placed in the Postal Savings Bank, and the whole faith and credit of the government is pledged that he shall not lose a cent through the shrinkage of bank assets or the dishonesty of bank officials.

The trouble with a private bank is, that just when we need its help, in time of financial stress and scarce money, it has to look out for its own credit instead of fulfilling the purpose for which it was ostensibly chartered. We put our money in there, and when we want it to use, they say, "Times are tight, you must wait for it or take a clearing house certificate." This bill provides for a full legal-tender emergency currency, issued when needed, retired when no longer demanded by the emergencies of business. You can't get up a panic with regard to the solvency of a Postal Savings Bank, nor organize a "run" upon it.

A postal bank is a guarantee of stable institutions and a promoter of patriotism. All that careful, thrifty class which constitutes the bone and sinew of every people will, for the sake of its safety, have their deposits in the postal bank. They will then have an actual investment in the government. They will watch it with the greater interest, having an actual and visible pecuniary interest in it. They will feel a sense of interest and proprietorship in it which they do not now feel. Especially is this true of that growing class of thrifty artisans in the cities who, owing to the enormous price of real estate, can never hope to acquire proprietorship in the soil. They need something to make them feel that this is their government, and that something the postal bank will supply.

The deposits in the postal bank will furnish a means whereby our cities, states and the government itself can free itself from the grip of the banking trust. The banker don't bank on his money; he banks on our money that we give him to keep. When we begin to give this money to the government to keep for us, the government will have the money on hand and won't have to go to the banker for it. When a city wants to build or appropriate for a gas, electric light, telephone or street railway plant, it can get the money from the postal bank. When a state or county wants to improve its roads or carry on important public works too large for a single year's taxes, there is the money for it all ready. The Postal Savings Bank is, therefore, a long step toward our emancipation from the grip of the money trust.

L. B. TUCKERMAN, M. D.

Cleveland, Ohio, Sept., 1896.

S. K. McGUIRE,

Carpenter and Builder,

Telephone 635—38th Street.

151 WEST 28th STREET,

NEW YORK.

A few years ago the Bundy Manufacturing Company, of Binghamton, New York, placed upon the market a mechanical device, which enabled every workman to become his own time-keeper. A separate key was given to each workman, bearing his number, which, by inserting in the clock, turning one-quarter way round, printed upon a strip of paper the exact time of his arrival at and departure from work. By this system no delay is caused in the men entering or leaving the works, as the act of registering is done very rapidly and one hundred men can register inside of two minutes.

This invention, called the **BUNDY TIME RECORDER,** has proven entirely acceptable to the Knights of Labor and to workmen generally, who are always sure that their time is accurately and honestly reported, and which prevents their being imposed upon through any petty spite on the part of the time-keeper or employer. Every man is sure that his correct time is marked down, and if any question of dispute arises it can be settled to the satisfaction of each party by referring to the strip upon which the registration is made.

The Bundy Manufacturing Company have always acted in unison with the Knights of Labor, favoring them when opportunity presented itself, and we, therefore, call the particular attention of all workmen to the Bundy Time Recorder and commend it to their favorable consideration.

We are informed that there are now in use about six thousand of these Time Recorders throughout the United States, and that over half a million workmen are daily recording their time upon them, and in no factory or workshop where they are in use has our attention ever been called to a single instance where any dispute has arisen between the employer and the employed regarding the correct time worked.

The Bundy Time Recorders have been investigated by the Officers of the Knights of Labor, and their use is recommended by them after a full consideration of their merits and fairness, and we heartily recommend that every Knight of Labor urge their adoption in every workshop.

THE NEW CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY.



"Members one of another."—*Paul.*

"We are to become fathers, mothers, for the spirit of the father and mother is not in us while we can say of any child it is not ours, and leave it in the grime. * * * We are to become honest, giving when we get, and getting with the knowledge and consent of all. * * * Generals were, merchants are, brothers will be, humanity's representative men. * * * There is to be a people in industry, as in government."—*Henry Demarest Lloyd.*

A man is out of work. He spends weeks, it may be months, in the effort to get employment. At last, shoeless, breadless, burdened with debt, weary of life, he resolves to end it all. Just at this stage, however, by mere chance—nothing else—he finds work. He gives satisfaction—more than satisfaction, in that he renders more than an equivalent for the wage received. Indeed, his devotion to his employer runs into absolute servility. After awhile his salary is increased, and still later on it is again increased. Life takes on a brighter aspect; he and his family dress better, they live in more style, they take up their abode on a more "swell" s'reet. The fellow grows inflated with his own importance; he actually begins to talk of "vested interests," "property rights," etc., and in all he says and does demeans himself as pompously as a full-fledged plutocrat. The man of finer mould, who has not forgotten to feel for the poor and would lay down his life to bring about juster conditions, is denounced by this *parvenu* as a "socialist," an "anarchist," as though they were one and the same thing. Measures advanced for the betterment of mankind he dismisses with the aged adjectives "wild," "visionary," "impracticable," "utopian," etc. "Any man can get work if he wants to," he declares. "If anybody is poor and in want, it's his own fault—he's lazy and won't work. Tramps should be flung into prison, anarchists hanged without even a trial. Have there not always been the rich and the poor since the world began? Of course. And it will always be so. *God Almighty has decreed it ! ! !*" And he speaks with such an air of authority you almost feel for the moment that he must have had a conference with the Creator in regard to the matter. But, seriously, why should this fellow, this once candidate for suicide, deport himself so obnoxiously? Can he be an out-and-out fool? Suppose he had not got work when he was wavering on the brink of self-destruction? Suppose he had deemed it wiser to bear the ills here and his bad fortune had continued to pursue him? Isn't it probable he would have become a tramp? Might he not have developed into an anarchist? Who knows?

The true man is not found in the class of which this fellow is a type. A genuine man is free from all arrogance, for arrogance implies vulgarity. Success cannot spoil him. If he has known poverty or misfortune of any kind, the remembrance of it abides with him through life, subduing his pride, intensifying his sympathies, sweetening and strengthening his character. And the real man is never shallow or superficial. He goes to the root of things; he must get at the cause. He loves anarchy no more than the man who is all the time railing at it, but he knows that anarchy is the child of oppression and injustice, and, instead of demanding the

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blood of his poor, mad fellow-beings who would tear down the pillars of society, he feels for them only pity—infinite, God-like pity. He can't help it, his heart is so big, so tender. Instead of abolishing government, he would help reconstruct it upon a juster, broader, diviner basis, so that cunning could no longer enslave and the causes that produce anarchy and hate among men be forever removed. Inspired by this divine ideal, he would have all men educated up to it. The wronged, weary masses, groping so pathetically about in their ignorance and darkness, touch him as did the sins of his people the heart of Jesus when he cried out: "Oh, Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killeth the prophets and stoneth them that are sent unto thee! How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not."

A man so divinely strung cannot look upon the multitude as cattle. On the contrary he *loves* the mob, though it would stone him. Every man of it is his brother, made, like himself, in the likeness of the Father. He feels that they are capable of infinite development, and they are to him as little children in need of a teacher and guide. As dear old Victor Hugo felt towards the crowd, so he feels:

"Sacrifice to the mob! Sacrifice to that unfortunate disinherited, vanquished, vagabond, shoeless, famished, repudiated, despairing mob! Sacrifice to it, if it must be, and when it must be, thy repose, thy fortune, thy joy, thy country, thy liberty, thy life! The mob is the human race in misery. The mob is the mournful beginning of the people. The mob is the great victim of darkness. Sacrifice to it thy gold, and thy blood which is more than thy gold, and thy thought which is more than thy blood, and thy love which is more than thy thought! Sacrifice everything to it except justice! Receive its complaint. Listen to it touching its faults and touching the faults of others. Hear its confessions and its accusations. Give it thy ear, thy hand, thy arm, thy heart. Do everything for it excepting evil. Alas! it suffers so much and it knows nothing. Correct it, warn it, instruct it, guide it, train it. Put it to the school of Honesty. Make it spell Truth, show it the alphabet of Reason, teach it to read Virtue, Probity, Generosity, Mercy. Hold thy book wide open. Be there attentive, vigilant, kind, faithful, humble. Light up the brain, inflame the mind, extinguish selfishness, and thyself give the example. For it is beautiful on this sombre earth, during this dark life—this brief passage to something beyond—it is beautiful that Force should have Right for a master, that Progress should have Courage as a leader, that Intelligence should have Honor as a sovereign, that Conscience should have Duty as a despot, that Civilization should have Liberty as a queen, and that the Servant of Ignorance should be the Light."

* * * * * * * * *

Ah, this problem of the mob, or "the mournful beginning of the people," as Hugo puts it! How it distresses one! It will not "down at our bidding." We cannot rid ourselves of it. Bigger and bigger it grows with each day, and it is just as formidable in our country as in any of the monarchies of the Old World, for, only in the imagination of unhaired debaters in our schools and colleges is America in any sense now the "home of the free and the land of the brave."

More and more men are realizing that freedom is out of the question in any land, republic or empire where the anarchy of competition prevails. More and more men are learning that this is a government of corporations, by corporations, and for corporations, and that the people are not "in it"! More and more the fact grows upon them that the race belongs to Greed and Cunning, that Honesty and Character have little or no show. And it is this very thing, more than any other, which is exasperating honest men everywhere, scholars as well as

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artisans and agriculturists, and augmenting their dissatisfaction and disgust with the present social system—a colossal grab game, which actually puts a premium upon selfishness and brutality, provoking men to make merchandise of the Christ within them for mere material gain —to part with their divinity in exchange for gold !

Co-operation or Competition ? Individualism or Socialism ? This is the coming issue. Indeed, it is already here. The question is not one of Republicanism or Democracy, much as politicians and office-seekers may labor to keep up the delusion. Protection or free trade is a worn-out dodge that can deceive intelligent people no longer. Bimetallism in itself amounts to little ; it is the growing radicalism, the vital force of socialism, back of it which gives it the strength it possesses. Trades-unionism finds itself impotent to deal with the industrial problem by reason of the slough of conservatism into which its stupid, and in not a few instances, designing and corrupt, leaders have engulfed it.

The antiquated strike and boycott, crude and ineffectual methods at their best, can accomplish nothing. Many conscientious men believe that a return to Jeffersonian Democracy would heal all our social disorders and bring the people to an unprecedented condition of content and prosperity. Mistaken souls ! We could not return to the Democracy of Jefferson if we would. As well think of an athlete's thrusting his legs back into his first knickerbockers, or a crowing cock's returning to the shell which held it in embryo ! No man loves and reveres the name and memory of Thomas Jefferson more than I do. I consider him the greatest man of his day ; he towers pre-eminently above all his contemporaries. He was not only a patriot, statesman, philosopher and humanitarian, but he was inspired. *God spoke through him.* But inspiration does not necessarily carry with it the seal of infallibility. Jefferson was inspired to speak for his time as was Moses for his, as were the Hebrew prophets for theirs ; but the Sage of Monticello was not inspired to speak for all ages. His conception of Democracy was a grand thing a hundred years ago—the best which that age could evolve ; but the theory that the best governed country is the one least governed, born of reaction against the paternalism of Old World despotisms, is anything but applicable to conditions as we find them in the sunset of the nineteenth century. The growing "communism of capital" has caused men to radically revise their opinions relative to that old doctrine, good and sound as it may have been once upon a time. We have drifted away from the individualism of the old time ; we are growing up to the collectivism of the new, which, after all, is but Democracy come to flower.

In Jefferson's day there were no railroads and telegraphs, no oil and sugar trusts, no coal and grain combines, no ring or syndicate of any kind, with their ramifications stretching in every direction, like the multitudinous roots of a mighty oak. Consequently, the problem of the corporation, or the centralization of wealth in the hands of a few, to the impoverishment and enslavement of the many, did not confront the great commoner as it does us so menacingly to-day. We are rapidly outgrowing our repugnance to "paternalism," so long held up as a bugaboo. We are coming to see that government is not necessarily an evil ; that in a republic it is nothing more, nothing less, than the people themselves in organized body We are coming also to see that monopoly is not a bad thing, either; but, on the contrary, a blessing—indeed, our salvation—if we choose to make it so. The question is reduced simply to this: Who shall control monopoly ? Shall the people, in their collective capacity, or a few shrewd, cunning individuals for their own selfish ends ?

The answer rests with ourselves whether monopoly shall continue an evil or become a blessing, continue our oppressor or become our liberator.

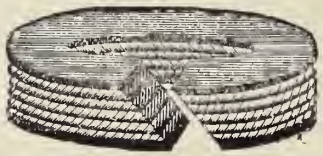
"*It is the right of the people to alter or abolish* [*any form of government*] *and to institute a new government.*" So says the Declaration of Independence.

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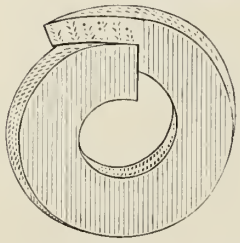
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Assets	$221,213,721 33
Liabilities	194,347,157 58
Surplus	$26,866,563 75
Total Income	$48,597,430 51
Total Paid Policy-holders in 1895	$23 126,728 45
Insurance and Annuities in force	$899,074,453 78
Net gain in 1895	$61,647,645 36

NOTE.—Insurance merely *written* is disearded from this statement as wholly misleading, and only insurance actually issued and paid for in cash is included.

Paid to Poliey-holders since organization	$411,567,625 79

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The lines are being sharply drawn, and the time is come when men must identify themselves with one or the other of the two schools of political economy, antipodal in thought and purpose. One of these schools believes in the divinity of the dollar; the other, in the divinity of man. The one holds property above humanity; the other, humanity above property. The one returns an emphatic negative to Cain's retort, "Am I my brother's keeper?" The other contends that we are "members one of another." The one is actuated by the spirit of Hate; the other, by the spirit of Love. The one unblushingly maintains that might makes right, or, in other words, that the earth belongs to the most cunning and unscrupulous, and that no attempt should be made to restrain this class from enslaving and oppressing the more honest and innocent; the other stands for equality of opportunity—not equality of men, bear in mind, please—that every individual may attain the highest mental and spiritual development of which he or she is capable. The one looks stupidly backward, blinded by precedent and tradition; the other looks joyfully forward, believing that the ideal society dreamed of by poets and mystics along the centuries, from Plato to Bellamy, will at last, in the process of evolution, become a glorious reality.

With which school do you train, brother?

On one side are Henry D. Lloyd, Edward Bellamy, William Dean Howells, George D. Herron, B. O. Flower, Richard T. Ely, Edward W. Bemis, and a host of other choice spirits of whom the world is not worthy—the very elect of the race; unselfish, splendid spirits who have caught visions of a new heaven and a new earth, and are willing to suffer all things—loss of position, property, friends, reputation—and to face want, starvation, death, if need be—to help bring in the reign of justice, and love.

On the other side whom see ye? Edward Atkinson, Grover Cleveland, Sterling Morton, John G. Carlisle, William McKinley, William C. Whitney, C. P. Huntington, the Pullmans, the Rockefellers, the Hannas, and a multitude which no man can number of scribes, pulpiteers, lawyers and labor fakirs who have been bought up, separately and in job lots; all the snobs and toadies, hucksters and pawnbrokers in this big, broad land, and human vampires north, south, east, west, everywhere, who put out their money to usury and take "reward against the innocent." I repeat, on which side are you, my brother? Are you with the forces making for progress and truth, equity and brotherhood among men? or with the forces contending against these—the power warring against God and the coming of His Kingdom upon earth?

It seems to me the easiest thing in the world to decide, and you will find it the same if the Spirit of God have not ceased to strive with you.

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He Ran for Congress.

The following is a copy of a letter written to a friend by a workingman who ran for Congress on the People's Party ticket in 1894. Name and place are left blank, for the printing of the letter is unknown to the writer. A select crowd have enjoyed it, and its appearance here will permit a wider enjoyment. As usual, the workingmen elected a lawyer instead of this fellow craftsmen.

———, ———, November 8th, 1894.

Dear Old Pat :—

I have waited for the past forty-eight hours to regain my normal "cussedness" sufficiently to enable me to twist my debilitated carcass from beneath the mountain of putrid debris attending a Congressional canvass in the "Sucker" State, so I could give you the winding-up scenes; and having in a measure become free from the tentacles of the horrid octopus, I set me down, covered all over with the nefarious, slickery slime of political defeat, and with one wild, woe-begone movement I proceed to claw the filth from my orbits of vision, to be able to see to write.

Pat, during the canvass in the —— district my fog horn was heard sounding, morn, noon and night, on hilltop, down dale and over the plain; its bellowing notes striking terror untold and untellable into the capacious maws of the Demo-Republican opposition. I continued to so bellow until the 3d instant; then came home, having notified the Populistic inhabitants of ——— that I would be here to deliver the final oration (?) of the season on the evening of the 5th. Well, I delivered her! I rended the heavens, pawed the air, sawed the atmosphere, and yelled with a mighty yelling, unspeakable and full of glory. Then, conscious of a mission well filled, I calm and contented set me down, with what I thought was the fair goddess of victory perched on the tip-top of my banners, to await the tell-tale ticking of the telegraph instrument on the evening of the 6th, which should summons me to lay aside ordinary things and assemble with the law-making council of the nation, and help man the great ship of State (?).

About the hour when graveyards yawn a telegram was handed to me which clearly proved that the so thought goddess of victory was nothing but a damned buzzard of the first water. Thereafter, each click of the telegraph sounded like the crack of doom, and its, to me, long drawn pauses seemed pregnant with a ghostly voice, wailing out like the irrevocable decree of devils damned: "Farewell, Farewell, Brother ———; Fare-you-WELL."

I rushed me away to a secret receptacle where a quart bottle of tarantula juice was reposing, designed to raise drooping spirits, and as I drew the cork, I said in my soul: "Here is a friend that never failed me," and as I raised it to my lips in an ecstasy of delight, that infernal corn juice with its familiar gurgle sung the same accursed ghostly song: "Farewell, Farewell, Brother ———; Fare-you-Well."

I drained the voicing lifeless demon to the dregs, and dashed the bottle from me with a muttered oath; as it perambulated through the air, on its sure way to the side of an adjacent brick building, the gurgling air vibrating in its hellish nozzle yelled in stentorian tones: "Farewell, Farewell, damned fool ——— ; Fare-you-Well."

I fled. The patter of my pedal extremities on the sidewalk; the whistling of the wind through my ancient and gray hair; the swish of a flying rocket fired off by the rejoicing Republicans; even the bray of an infernal jackass—all conspired to repeat in an uncanny, unearthly, ghostly, infernal, heaven forgotten, hell born voice: "Farewell, you damned old fool, Brother ———; FARE-YOU-WELL! A last and long farewell."

I am all right now; the soulless voice is stilled in death; while only a gentle, sweet, quiet whisper is heard saying: "Experience is a dear school, but a damned fool will not learn in any other." Then I rise up clothed in my right mind and say, AMEN.

Fraternally yours,

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CONVICT LEASE SYSTEM IN ALABAMA.

This is purely a commercial age, to our sorrow be it known, and in writing about a subject like the convict lease system of Alabama it would be well to first treat upon that phase of the question of interest to those whose sympathies lie usually on the side of dollars and cents. I have before me the report of the State Mine Inspector of Alabama for 1895, and the following figures are culled from the same :

We find that 1672 convicts were employed in producing coal in the mines of Alabama during that year. Of this number 1195 were miners and 467 were day men, such as drivers, dumpers, etc. The table shows that these 1195 convicts dug 890,080 tons of coal during the year.

Sixteen dollars per month per man would not be placing the cost of keeping and providing for these convicts at too low a figure, this to include cost of leasing, feeding, clothing, guarding and all other necessary expenses; and when the quality of food is taken into consideration this average may be found to be too high.

It would cost then for mining this coal $228,360.00. The average price paid free labor for mining coal in Alabama in 1895 was 35 cents per ton, and if we take the 890,080 tons at this figure, we find that it would have cost the operators $311,528.00 to have had this coal mined by free labor. The 467 day men at the rate of $16 per month per man would have cost the lessees $7,472.00 a month or $89,664.00 for the year. The same number of free laborers working on an average of $30 a month would have earned the same amount in a little over six months. Placing the profit earned during the year 1895 by the lessees of the convicts at $170,000.00 in round numbers can hardly be accused of over-estimation—one hundred and seventy thousand dollars that should go into the pockets of the wage-earner and from that into the channels of commerce and trade, but which instead help to swell the profits of two corporations. But it is not alone in this respect that the present convict lease system affects industry and the wages of free labor. The system has become a weapon in the hands of the operators to intimidate and coerce the miners of the State whenever signs of trouble over the wage scale or anything else become apparent. The miners are made to feel and know that if they do not wish to accept the operators' terms, then a strike would be useless, for the convicts can produce enough coal to keep up with the demands of the market. That this weapon is an effective one has been amply proved. During the miners' strike in 1894, the convict mines were run day and night, Sunday included, in order that furnaces could be kept going and the strike broken. Had it not been for this, it would have been comparatively easy for the miners to have won the strike. As it was, the strike ended, after a long, weary, heart-breaking struggle of five months, in a compromise, and the miners returned to work at a large reduction. Wages have reached a fearfully low scale in Alabama, and it is safe to say the convict lease system is in a great measure responsible for it

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The system has also given birth to another evil in the shape of an overproduction of miners. Criminals are brought from all parts of the State, from cotton fields, river bottoms and city slums, men who have never seen a coal mine before and who have, perhaps, never seen a lump of coal to know it. These fellows are taught how to dig coal, and when their terms expire they graduate full-fledged coal miners. Few of them ever leave the Birmingham district, and they enter other mines and go into direct competition with other miners. As the colored element form a large proportion of the State's criminals the operators can easily use the ex-convicts for their own purpose in time of trouble, and the result is a large number of "blacklegs" are always on hand. Ignorant and degraded, these poor creatures know nothing better than to do what their masters tell them, and they have consequently become a strong bulwark for the labor crusher and wage parer.

The effect of this system upon the small or individual operator is worthy of a word or two. While in conversation with one of this class a short time ago, I was told that the two companies leasing the convicts—*i. e.*, The Tenn. Coal, Iron and Railroad Co. and the Sloss Iron and Steel Co.—were slowly but surely driving the little fellows out of the market. They are enabled to do this through having their coal produced at so much less cost than the others and being able, therefore, to sell so much cheaper in the market. Up till but recently the small operators have had the home market nearly all to themselves, but now that the big fellows are beginning to take a hand we can expect to see the individual driven out of the market and the corporations possessing a monopoly. This is retaliation with a vengeance, because the small operator refused to join in the fight against the system waged five or six years ago.

The moral side to this question is of as great importance as the financial side. The convict mines at Pratt City and Coalburg have become nothing more than schools where weak moral characters become weaker and evil natures have full play for development. The lives of the prisoners are absolutely without sunshine or relief. Their surroundings are of a repressed and forbidden kind, and no opportunity is given for any exercise of whatever good attributes they may possess. First timers mingle with old and vicious criminals, and each and all are treated with equal harshness and severity. Cruelty is a prominent feature of the workings of the system, especially, I am told, at Coalburg. Here in the winter time the outside prisoners are forced to work in frost and sleet sans hat, sans shoes, sans coat, sans everything but shirt and pants. All the year around the whip is plied unceasingly, and the tales of horrid brutality told by ex-prisoners harrow a person's peace of mind. The food is coarse, badly cooked, indigestible and devoid of any power to stimulate or vitalize. The effect of all this is obvious. Men, who have entered prison for the first time, after committing a rash and thoughtless act, emerge hardened criminals and enemies to society. Whatever love for mankind a man may have possessed is crushed out of him, and he comes forth with hatred for the world in his heart, and the world suffers accordingly.

There are more crimes of every description committed in the Birmingham district than any other in the State. What else can be looked for, when it is made the dumping ground for the worst sort of criminals and law-breakers in the confines of Alabama?

This system places a premium upon greed, cruelty and brutality. The operator leases the convict from the State, and in order that the investment be made a profitable one he proceeds to work this convict to the full extent of his strength and endurance. Force becomes necessary to gain this end, and the operator or his servants do not hesitate its use. Every semblance of kindly human feeling is beaten out of the prisoner, and his better nature distorted out of human shape.

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The State alone should directly punish, control and supervise the violators of the State law, and the power should not be delegated to private individuals, to whose interest it is that criminals should exist, and whose only object is to make money, no matter whether society or the community at large suffers or not. Two legislatures have been elected in Alabama to abolish the convict lease system, but it still lives and flourishes. Some show was made of starting a large farm in the southern part of the State, for the purpose of trying to make the convicts self-sustaining, but what has become of the project no one seems to know, and to care but little more.

The convict lease system and the commissary system flourish side by side in Alabama. Twin evils, they are the fruits of a false and immoral civilization. They are the millstones which hang about the necks of free labor and honest industry, and which are ruining the small merchant and small trader in the Birmingham district. One keeps capable miners out of work, and the other robs those who are at work. The corporations reap the benefit both ways, and in a short time we may expect to see all classes in the mineral district of Alabama controlled and governed by one monopoly, which has gained its power and prestige from the existence and perpetuation of the convict lease system.

WILLIAM MAILLY.

Nashville, Tenn., September, 1896.

WHAT WE WANT.

All hail the dawn of a new day breaking,
When a strong armed nation shall take away
The weary burdens from backs that are aching
With maximum labor and minimum pay;
When no man is honored who hoards his millions,
When no man feasts on another's toil,
And God's poor suffering, striving billions,
Shall share His riches of sun and soil.

There is gold for all in the earth's broad bosom,
There is food for all in the land's great store.
Enough is provided if rightly divided,
Let each man take what he needs—no more.
Shame on the miser with unused riches,
Who robs the toiler to swell his hoard,
Who beats down the wages of the digger of ditches,
And steals the bread from the poor man's board!

Shame on the owner of mines, whose cruel
And selfish measures have brought him wealth,
While the ragged wretches who dig him fuel
Are robbed of comfort and hope and health!
Shame on the ruler who rides in his carriage,
Bought with the labor of half-paid men,
Men who are shut out from home and marriage
And herded like sheep in a hovel pen!

Let the clarion voice of the nation wake him
To broader vision and fairer play;
Or let the hand of a just law shake him
Till his ill-gained dollars shall roll away.
Let no man dwell under a mountain of plunder,
Let no man suffer with want or cold;
We want right living, not mere almsgiving,
We want just dividing of labor and gold.

—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

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	Authorized in Present Form by Act of	Limit of Issue.	Denominations.	Legal Tender.	Receivable.	Exchangeable	Redeemable.
Gold Coin.	June 28, 1834. Jan. 18, 1837. Mar. 3, 1849.	Unlimited, coinage free	$20, 10, 5, 2.50, $1.	Unlimited	For all dues.	For Certificates when Gold reserve is not below $100,000,000.	
Gold Certificates.	July 12, 1882.	Issue suspended so long as gold reserve is below $100,000,000.	$10,000, $5,000, 1,000, 500, 100, 50, 20.	Not a legal tender.	For all public dues.	For gold coin at the Treasury, or any other money.	In gold coin at the Treasury or Sub-Treasuries.
Silver Dollars.	Feb. 28, 1878 and July 14, 1890	Amount required to redeem treasury notes of 1890.	$1.	Unlimited, unless otherwise stipulated in contract.	For all dues.	For Silver Certificates or smaller coin at the Treasury.	May be deposited for Silver Certificates.
Silver Certificates.	Feb. 28, 1878. Aug. 4, 1886.	Silver dollars of the United States coinage.	$1 000, 500, 100, 50, 20, 10, 5, 2, 1.	Not a legal tender.	For all public dues.	For dollars or smaller coin at the Treasury.	In Silver dollars at Treasury or Sub-Treasuries.
U. S. Notes. Greenbacks	Feb. 25, 1862. July 11, 1862. Mar. 3, 1863.	$346,681,016.	$1,000, 500, 100, 50, 20, 10, 5, 2, 1,	Unlimited, except int. on public debt and impost dnties.	For all dues, imports and int. on public debt.	For all kinds of money except gold Certificates.	In COIN at Sub-Treasuries in N. Y. and San Francisco in sums of $50 and over.
Currency Certificates.	June. 8, 1872.	Same as U. S. Notes.	$10.000.	Not a legal tender.	Not receivable	For U. S. Notes at Sub-Treasury where issued.	In United States notes at Sub-Treasnry where issued.
Treasury Notes of 1890.	July 14, 1890.	$155,931,002.	$1,000, 500, 100, 50, 20, 10, 5, 2, 1.	Unlimited, unless otherwise stipulated in contract.	For all public dues.	For all kinds of money except Gold Certificates.	In COIN at Treasury or Sub-Treasuries. Issued to purchase silver bullion.
National Bank Notes.	June. 3, 1864.	90 per cent of par value of U. S. Bonds dep. by bank to secure issue	$1,000, 500, 100, 50, 20, 10, 5.	Not a legal tender.	For all public dues except duties on imports.	For Silver and minor coin.	In "lawful money" greenbacks at Treasury or bank of issne.
Silver Subsiduary Coin.	Feb. 12, 1873.	Needs of the country.	50, 25, 10 cents.	In sums not exceeding $10.	To amount of $10 for all dues.	For minor coin.	In "lawful money" greenbacks, at Treasury or Sub-Treasury in sums of $20 or any multiple thereof.
Minor Coin.	May 16, 1866. and Apr. 22, 1864.	Needs of the country.	5 and 1 cents.	In sums not exceeding 25 cents.	To amount of 25c for all dues.		In 'lawful money.' greenbacks, at Treasury and Sub-Treas. in sums $20 an over.

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TRADES UNIONISM.

By P. H. PENNA,

Master Workman N. T. A. 135, and National President U. M. W. of A.

The trades union sentiment in this country is steadily advancing, its adherents among all classes of laborers increasing, and its influence for good more generally recognized. That such a movement could be conducted without diversity of opinion and more or less of factional strife, resulting from a coming together of representatives of so many schools of thought, cannot be expected or even hoped for.

As long as men think, unless too cowardly, they will express their thoughts, and since all cannot think alike there will always be conflict of opinion.

It is well that it is so, for without such differences as to methods, and the agitation caused thereby, the labor movement would be in danger of lapsing into a state of stagnation and inactivity.

However much, as trade unionists, we may disagree on methods of operation, there are many matters on which we are in perfect accord. That the trade union is a necessity; that its power for good is immeasurably great; that every wage-laborer owes his or her allegiance to their craft's organization; that as a regulator of conditions of employment it is indispensable, and that it is to-day the only organized force in this country protesting against the encroachment of the money power, the abridgement of the people's liberties, and protecting the laborer to the extent of its ability in the enjoyment of his natural rights, we are all agreed.

That it is in and of itself capable of emancipating the toiling masses from their present enslaved condition, and restoring to them the natural rights and liberties of which they have been deprived, I deny. Our natural rights and the privileges of enjoying them have been filched from us by adverse legislation, the result of ignorance and criminal negligence of the trusting many and the perfidious bartering of our interests by the trusted few. In my opinion we can only secure permanent improvement of our condition, the restoration of our rights and the extension of liberties, by and through the intelligent use of the ballot. Too long have we listened to the stories of men living in the past, and who formed opinions under conditions widely differing from those now confronting us, as they have depicted with woe-begone visage the horrors which would follow the exercise of suffrages as intelligent men and unionists. My advice to you is: Go into politics! Talk them everywhere, on the street, in the mines, in your locals—everywhere! Substitute patriotism for partisanship, devotion to country for devotion to party, more respect for home and less for political bosses, and you will bring into play the greatest engine of reform ever placed at the disposal of any body of toilers.

Learn to discuss political and economical questions, not from a partisan standpoint, but as patriots; not which of the two political parties is best, because we have been robbed of our birthright by the machinations of both. If the laboring people had qualified themselves for the intelligent use of the ballot by a general acquaintance with their rights as men, the purity of our government would have been maintained and our country a brilliant example of the ability of the people to govern themselves. When we ask for legislation it's only a crumb we want, and too often when we get it we are unable to enforce it. We only temporize with the evil, and our servants, acting as masters, give us enough to keep us quiet, while a cruel plutocracy is stealing our substance, crushing out ambition, and destroying life itself, all because we allow it and encourage it by keeping out of politics.

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When a law is passed presumably in the interest of laboring men it is often declared unconstitutional by the courts of our land, and this has given rise to the idea that our courts are corrupt, and we rail at the judges. I do not believe that our courts generally are corrupt, nor that our misfortune in the particular named is due to any desire on their part to oppress us. Of course we have our Tafts and Grosscups, as our fathers had their Arnolds, and the ancients their Neros; but the seat of our trouble is in the constitutions, Federal and State, and not their interpreters. Those constitutions were made for a people differently situated, and surrounded with other environments. The individual at that time could exercise his individuality, whereas now that individuality is lost, and man is only a part of the great productive machine, without right to toil or even live except by the grace of a fellowman. No written constitution ought to be superior to the expressed will of the people when enacted into law, and one generation of people has no right to hamper the acts or abridge the liberties of future generations.

Our constitutions, Federal and State, are among the greatest obstacles to our advancement, instead of protecting our rights. By and through the neglect and ignorance of the masses we are denied access to natural resources; the land, which belongs to the people—the whole people—and in which there can be no individual property rights without robbery, is stolen from the many and given to the few, until we have a landlordism, foreign and native, as autocratic and cruel as any system with which Ireland was oppressed. The intelligent few have always used the unlettered many for their own aggrandizement, and will so continue until by force of intelligence we know our rights and are prepared to assert them.

CIRCUMSTANCES ALTER CASES.

By A. D. CRIDGE.

We're Communists and Socialists
And Dynamiters, too;
We're slaves of walking delegates,
Who tell us what to do,
There's nothing we should kick about,
We've all got cheek sublime;
But we're "bone and sinew of the land,"
About
Election
Time.

We're howlers of calamity,
We're crazy fiat fools,
We're lawless slum and foreign scruff
And stubborner nor mules;
They threaten us with gatling guns
And in our hair to climb—
But we're "thinking toilers of the land,"
About
Election
Time.

We're wild-eyed Hayseeds, lazy shirks,
Alliance traitors, knaves;
We're looters of the vaults of wealth,
And our speaker always "raves."
We're a danger to the country
And republic all the time—
But we're "honest, sturdy farmers,"
About
Election
Time.

We're everything that's vile and mean,
For twice three hundred days;
Nihilists, thugs and Pinkertons
Are urged on us to blaze,
If but we demand justice,
As against a gilded crime—
But we're "valiant hosts of labor,"
About
Election
Time.

They tell us of protection
And the glory of a tax;
The rights of honest capital
To ride upon our backs;
Our comfort and prosperity
(Tho' we haven't got a dime)—
And to once more save the party,
About
Election
Time.

They tax us, and they drive us,
And mock us in our woe;
They tell us we're responsible,
Tho' they know it isn't so;
And we stand right up and take it,
While the bloats their pockets line—
Oh, we're several million darndest fools,
About
Election
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A CONDENSED OUTLINE OF

The Philosophy of Money, Price and Value.

By "STUDENT."

Would **you** like to understand the "*Money Question*"? It is very simple when once you grasp a few *first principles* and become familiar with a few **correct** definitions and statements of **facts.**

There is a vast difference between the **Art** of money getting, "lending," "investing," etc., and the **Philosophy** or **Science** of **Money.** *Most* men known more or less about the *former; few* know anything about the *latter.*

Now, what *is* "Money"? How does it come into existence? What is "Price"? What causes "high" and "low" prices? What is "Value"?

NOTE THIS. Every nation enacts laws compelling its citizens to tender certain things (variously called "Dollars," "Pounds," "Francs," etc.) as the only **legal means of payment of debts** and of **taxes.** THIS IS THE VITAL POINT OF THE WHOLE MONEY QUESTION.

These things loosely spoken of as "money" are *really* only monetized *paper* or *metal* **Coins** REPRESENTING the national **monetary denominations.** So that what is usually *called* "money" is **really** made up of THREE DISTINCT **things** or **elements,** each of which *may* and often *does* exist **independently of the other two.**

THIS FACT IS ONE OF THE CENTRAL TRUTHS CONCERNING MONEY.

Admit it, and the Science of Money becomes clear as the noon day.

Deny or *ignore* it, *and the whole subject of money is shrouded in impenetrable darkness.* What **are** these three constituents?

First. The national **monetary** DENOMINATIONS. These are purely "ideal" or "abstract," and are used to aid in *expressing* PRICE.

In the United States, these **denominations** are *legally* the "MILL," the "CENT," the "DIME," the "DOLLAR," and the "EAGLE."

Second The *paper* or the *metal* **Coins** REPRESENTING these *denominations* or **their multiples** There has never been in existence a coin representing the denomination "*Mill.*"

These **Coins,** whether of **paper, metal** or *other* material, must **not** be confounded with or mistaken for the *denominations* they **represent.**

Strictly speaking, there has never been but *one* "Dollar" in existence in the United States, viz.: the *denomination* "Dollar." All these *gold, silver* and *paper* **Coins,** loosely *termed* "Dollars," are simply **representatives of this ideal denominational Dollar,** or of **multiples** of it.

These paper or metal *Coins* **representing** the *denominations may* be (and as a rule *are*) **monetized,** either *fully, partially* or *limitedly.*

They *may* be and often *are* **de***monetized* and **re***monetized*, or may be coined and left **un***monetized.*

This "monetization" and **de**monetization, whether *complete* or only *partial*, is *always* a **legal** process; is done by the "fiat" of law.

All these coins, whether of *gold, silver, paper, copper, bronze* or other material, are purely "*tokens,*" the *gold* coins just as much so as the *copper.*

Whether of *gold*, **silver** or PAPER, they are one and all of the *nature* of an "order on society": a "*circulating due bill against labor,*" redeemed in turn for each holder, *through the payment of debt and of taxes.*

"Swapping" so-called "Dollars" (!) made of **one** material (of *paper*, for example) for "Dollars" (!) made of a **different** material (of *gold*, for illustration) is NEVER redeeming them; it is simply EXCHANGING them.

The *gold* coins must be "redeemed" in **exactly the same way** as the **paper** or the **silver** or the **copper** coins are: BY BEING EXCHANGED FOR LABOR OR LABOR PRODUCTS, or by being received by the Government in payment of dues and taxes.

Third. THE MONEY PROPER.

This is the debt-paying, legal-tender power, function or attribute with which law invests or clothes the paper or the metal coins representing the denominations.

The actual meaning of the term "demonetization" is to "take out the money."

When coins are "demonetized" they are *di*vested or deprived of the legal-tender, debt-paying function, power or attribute with which the law had previously *in*vested them.

This *fact* proves that this debt-paying function is **really** *the* money.

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The terms "honest (!) money," "sound (!) money," "gold (!) money," "50-cent (!) dollars," "standard (!) of value," "money of the world," "dollar (!) good in any market in the world," "full (!) dollar," "parity," "currency," etc., are mere "catch phrases" intended to delude the unthinking and mislead the unwary.

Honesty and dishonesty are attributes of *human character*, not of inanimate objects.

Coins may be genuine or counterfeit, but cannot be said to be either honest or dishonest.

Persons may be honest or dishonest, the latter especially when they talk about "honest (!) money," "sound (!) money," etc.

These coins (so-called "Dollars," "Cents," etc.) come into existence solely through law: through legislation. Not *one* of these coins (unless counterfeit) can come into existence save through law: through "fiat," if you please.

The *number* or *volume* of these monetized coins *depends wholly on legislation.* The *law* regulates the supply: it can make them *scarce*, or it can make them plentiful.

It therefore logically follows that *Justice and Equity demand that so long as these "law-provided monetized coins" are made the only "means of legal payment" of all debts and taxes, the laws should so adjust the number of these so-called "Dollars," etc., that all debts and taxes can be paid without injustice to the debtor or to the creditor.*

What is *called* "credit" (!) is *really debt.* There can be no actual use of "credit" (!) without creating a *debt*, a "promise to pay."

"But," you ask, "how can we do business with other nations if we demonetize gold and silver coins and establish a purely domestic money system of monetized paper coins?"

The answer is: "*Precisely as we do now.*"

Commerce between nations is an *exchange of commodities*, of *goods*, and always must be.

These goods are *paid for* (not "bought," mark you) through the use of what are termed "foreign bills of exchange."

These "bills" are drawn against the price of commodities, *and are paid for with the monetized coin of the country in which they are bought.* The *price* of "exchange" depends on the *supply* of bills in the market.

PRICE is the *relation* or *ratio* between *monetized coins* on the *one hand*, and all other things bought and sold—i. e. labor and its products—on the *other*.

Price may be *expressed* by the *aid* of the monetary *denominations—never* by the use of the *coins* **representing** the latter.

The *general average of* prices in any country depends *entirely* on the *quantity* and *legal quality* of these monetized coins called "Dollars," etc., as compared with the **legal use for them**—*never* upon the *material* of which the *coins* are made, only so far as it affects their *quantity* or *number*.

Scarce money means an **inflation of debt,** *low prices, periodical "panics"* and **hard times.**

"Gold Standard" is **only** *another name for* **scarce money.**

Plentiful money means a *contraction* of debt, *high prices, "good times,"* and **prosperity for every useful citizen.**

The *quantity* and *legal quality* of "money" depends *entirely* on *law*—on *legislation.*

"Hard money" and *"hard times"* go together.

The "silver question," while important, is only a *small part* of the *money question.*

VALUE is simply an abstract *ratio* or *relation. The term is not used correctly once in a thousand times.* **Price** is usually the *proper* term.

There *are* no such things as a "standard (!) of value," or a "measure (!) of value."

It is as absurd to speak of *"intrinsic (!) value"* as of *"intrinsic (!) distance."*

QUESTIONS ON MONEY.

Historical.

1. Is it not a *fact* that the "depreciation" of the "greenbacks" and the premium on gold during and after the war *were due solely to the "Exception Clause,"* whereby U. S. gold and silver coins were made the *only legal means of payment* of duties on imports and interest on the public debt? (*See Act of Feb. 26, '62, and Thaddeus Stevens' speech in House, Feb. 20, '62.*)

2. Is this not proved by the **fact** that *two* kinds of "paper money" that were *not* "redeemable" in gold or silver coin, *stood at par with gold all through the war and after,* BECAUSE they were *not* "crippled" with an "Exception Clause"?

3. Were not the "greenbacks" **"purposely depreciated to make a market for the bonds"?** (*See speech of John Sherman in Senate, Dec. 17, '67.*)

4. Do *you* hold that "greenbacks" are *not* really money?

5. If they are *not* money, were the soldiers, sailors and Government creditors ever really paid?

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6. If "greenbacks" are *not* money, were the U. S. Government bonds *paid for with "greenbacks"* ever REALLY paid for?

7. If the legally "crippled" greenback was good enough for the *soldier, was* and *is* it not good enough for the *bondholder?*

8. Which was the more deserving, the soldier or the bondholder?

9. Were not the U. S. *bonds* sold during and after the war *paid* for with "greenbacks" and other forms of "paper money"?

10. *If paper money is good in war, is it not better in peace?*

11. Do you defend the so-called "Credit Strengthening (!) Act" (March 18, 1869), by which the bonds paid for *with* and payable *in* "lawful money" were made *payable in coin*, thus robbing the people of the United States of over Half a Billion Dollars?

12. Was not this change in the terms of payment *repudiation?*

13. Was not this and the "Exception Clause" on the "greenback" "ROBBERY BY STATUTE LAW"?

14. Is not the "good faith" and "honor" of the Government due *first* to its citizens, and *not* to a small class of *"fundholders"?*

15. Was not the demonetization of silver in 1873'4 in the *interests of a small class* and *against* the interests of the *mass* of the people?

16. Was not the *intended* and *actual effect* of this "fiat" demonetization to make *gold* the only material for fully monetized U. S. coins, thus making money *scarcer* and prices *lower?*

General.

1. Does not LAW *make* and *unmake* money? If law does *not*, what *does?*

2. If law *does*, can it not make money of *paper* as well as of gold and silver?

3. Do not these monetized gold, silver and paper coins come into existence only through law?

4. This being the *fact*, cannot the law make them *scarce* or make them *plentiful?*

5. Do not all *honest* political economists agree that general prices in *any* country depend upon the *quantity* and *legal quality* of money in that country, as compared with the *use* for it?

6. Does not *scarce money* mean *low prices?* Are you in favor of *low* prices or of *high* prices? *Which do you favor: "good times" or "bad times"?*

7. Would it not be better for the business of the country to be done with *cash* instead of with *confidence?*

8. Would not a "panic" be impossible if business were done for *cash?*

9. Is not what is usually called *"credit"* (!) in reality DEBT?

10. Does not a *contraction* of the *"legal means of payment"*—money—force an *inflation* of *debt?*

11. Do you favor an *inflation of debt*, or an *expansion* of the *"legal means of payment"*—money?

12. Does not the *law* compel every citizen to tender certain things *called* "Dollars," as the *only means of legal payment of debts and of taxes? Is not this the vital point of the whole money question?*

13 Do you favor the *retirement* of the outstanding greenbacks and "funding" them into *interest bearing bonds?*

14. Do you favor *"International (?) Bimetallism"? If* the "gold standard" is a *good* thing, why replace it with "International" (?) Bimetallism?

15. Have we not had both "good times" and "bad times" and also "panics" under *high protective (?) tariffs*, and also "good times," "bad times" and "panics" under *low* "free trade" tariffs?

16. If the greenback—the "redeemer" of the national bank note—is "rag money," *what is the national bank note?*

17. Does not the banker *draw* interest on his *promise to pay?*

18. Does not the right the *creditor* has to call upon the *law* to enforce *payment* of his claim—even to the ruin of the *debtor*—give the law the right to say *what* the debt shall be payable *in?*

19. Is not the so-called "gold standard" only *another name* for scarce money and low prices?

20. Did you ever know of "hard times" when prices in general were *rising?* or of "good times" when general prices were falling?

21. Did you ever see a 50-cent dollar, 8-ounce pound or a 6-inch foot?

22. *Do you not think we should declare our* FINANCIAL INDEPENDENCE *of Great Britain and all other nations, as our Revolutionary forefathers did our* POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE *one hundred years ago?* IF NOT, WHY NOT?

If you are interested in this subject, send five (5) cents in stamps to Lock Box 62, Salem, Ohio, and you will receive a sixteen page pamphlet, in which is condensed twenty years' study of the money question by a successful business man.



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AN ADDRESS BY
HENRY D. LLOYD.

The following address was delivered in the city of Chicago, on the evening of Friday, November 22d, 1895, at the reception tendered Eugene V. Debs, who was that day released from prison.

All classes of the community, business men and professional men, stockholders of corporations, as well as workingmen, are represented in this meeting to welcome Eugene V. Debs back to liberty. Mr. Debs has received 2,000 invitations to deliver public addresses before all kinds of bodies, from trade unions to political gatherings and literary societies. He has a deluge of letters from all sorts and conditions of men—eminent jurists, labor leaders, farmers, capitalists and statesmen. Tributes of sympathy and encouragement come to him from all parts of the country, and from every element of the people.

First, the people greet Debs because he was the leader of a sympathetic strike. Americans cannot forget that America is free from Great Britain because France ordered a sympathetic strike. The negro is free because of the sympathetic strike of the North. "What greater love hath any man than this, that he lay down his life for his friend?" The sympathetic strike in a good cause is orthodox Christianity in action.

Second, this outpouring in honor of Debs greets him also because he is the martyr of government by injunction, the most dangerous tyranny that ever threatened the freedom of the people or the safety of a republic.

The American people have wit enough to know that these precedents of government by injunctions instead of trial by jury, of law made by proclamation instead of legislation, of punishment at the mercy of a judge's sour temper or sour stomach, are precedents which will not stop where they begin—with the workingmen. If government by injunction lasts, the rights of anyone—capitalist, laborer, Republican, Democrat, Populist, farmer—can be destroyed at the will of any faction or syndicate which happens to have judges in office.

Under the decision of the United States Supreme Court, refusing Debs the right of trial, all that is necessary to justify government by injunction is an affidavit by any unknown person that he believes the country is going to the "demnition bow-wows." That is all the evidence the judges need for putting the country under worse than martial law. That was all there was in the Debs case—an affidavit full of hysterical lies by a man no one ever heard of before or since.

Under government by injunction any judge can accuse any person of high crime by the device of enjoining him not to commit it. This accusation by the judge is the same thing as condemnation, for the judge on any kind of evidence whatever, and without trial by jury, can find the accused guilty and sentence him to pay any fine, even to his last dollar, and imprison him for any term, even to the last year of his life. Government by injunction, like most bad things, grows fast. In Massachusetts and New York judges have got to issuing injunctions forbidding workingmen from stopping work or walking up and down the street in front of their employers' places of business.

Government by injunction means that a judge may at will crowd the people into a position where they must be all either slaves or criminals—slaves if they obey him, criminals if they obey Magna Charta, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. Debs and his six heroic associates, innocent of any offense known to the laws, without legal notice that what they were doing was forbidden by the judges, without notice from any provision of the constitution or statute of the legislature, without indictment, without trial by a jury of their peers, without habeas corpus, were deprived of liberty and property for many months of life. They were denied the right to appeal. The right of a judge to punish as he will for contempt of court within his bailiwick is the choicest prerogative of his office, and any other judge who interfered with it would be looked upon by all his associates on the bench as a "scab."

If Debs were the least and worst of us all, instead of being the generous enthusiast he is for humanity, this outrage upon his—and our—citizenship ought to be enough to call to his side every soul fit to be free. The most popular man among the real people to-day is Debs, the victim of judicial lynch law, the repudiator of contempt of court as a substitute for the Constitution of the United States, and of Gatling guns as the harmonizer of labor and capital, the first rebel against government by injunction. It is not a disgrace to these men to have been in prison. The bird of freedom has always been a jail-bird. In all great crises the place to look for the redeemers of the race is not in the palaces of religion or the palaces of justice, but in the prison cells or on the road thereto. Moses had to flee from the Egyptians. Socrates died in a cell. Christ was made a convict because he was a friend of the people, and was crucified as the first preacher of democracy. Washington and Jefferson had so much contempt of court that they would have been hanged if they could have been caught. In the history of progress tyranny has always been the turnkey, liberty always the convict. "Truth," said Lowell, "forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne."

Let us grant for the argument that perhaps Debs made mistakes. He would be the last man to claim infallibility. Perhaps the American Railway Union is not composed altogether of archangels. There are two sides to every question, people say, and then climb up on the fence. Which was the right side in the Pullman strike? Which is the right side in every labor dispute? Our forefathers in the Revolution did many illegal things and committed several acts of violence, but, as against George III., theirs was always the right side. The workingmen often do wrong, but theirs is always the right side. It is the side of the disinherited, the wronged, of the victims of power, of the many, of the hundreds of millions who go to bed hungry every night on this fruitful earth of ours. The workingmen's side is the side

which carries the principle of civilization—the rule of the people—which is that all must live for all, one step farther, making it the rule of industry as it now is of patriotism. It will enlarge the splendid flag of the republic into the more glorious banner of the co-operative commonwealth. The workingmen's side is always the right side, and the more mistakes they make the more will all those who love their fellow men and who have faith in the future give them aid, comfort and affection.

Some years ago the street railway men of Glasgow struck for shorter hours and longer wages, and lost. When they found that the industrial strike failed they tried the political strike. They began an agitation by which to-day Glasgow owns and runs its own street railways. If the million railroad men of America want to organize a strike that will down at the roots the cause of all these injunctions and Gatling guns, these insurrections against the people by the judges and the army and the President, let them strike to make themselves and their fellow citizens owners of the railways and telegraphs and telephones—and a good many other things.

The common people of the last century demanded that since government exists only by the labors of all, it should exist only by the voice of all. It is time for the common people of this country to make another declaration and constitution, and demand that since industry and wealth are possible only by the labors of all, they shall be administered only by the voice and by the consent of all. When in any industry the workingmen find that their employers have become possessed of such overgrown power that they are able to treat their committees as rebels, when they can starve them into submission by lockouts, because they know there is no other work for them ; when they can play the tyrant by telling them that the price at which they must sell themselves is only the employers' "business," not theirs, and threaten to shoot them if they "dictate" about this "business" by asking for arbitration—when in any industry the people find that they must pay whatever price the seller demands for coal, sugar, oil, salt, meat or what not, and must accept whatever quality they are given, then there is an industry ripe for a ballot strike, a sympathetic strike, by the people, consumers and workingmen alike, for industrial democracy.

How did Washington deliver America? "He saved his money and bought a gun." But he planted bullets because he knew how to make them grow into ballots. He fought that we, his heirs, need not fight. Napoleon, on his way to his grave at St. Helena, said : "I was not conquered by the arms of the allies I was beaten by 'the ideas of liberty.'" Hamilton, Adams, Franklin, if they were here to-day, would not need the musket to free their people. They would say to us : "If you can vote public lands and public bonds and public streets and public rights to private citizens for private profit can you not vote the same to the public for public railroads, telegraphs, telephones, street cars, gas companies for public profit? Are not the Americans as able to do these things as the English, Germans, French, Swiss, Russians, Italians? Washington would say the corporations would have no right to complain of public competition. Do not they and their professors of political economy tell us continually that competition is the life of trade? and since self-interest is the law of life, has not the public a self-interest of its own and a right to use it? Your votes elect judges who rule that a strike must by its nature be violent, and that the workingmen who order a strike are, therefore,

responsible for any violence that comes with it. Why not use your votes by way of change to elect judges who will go one step nearer the cause of the violence and rule that the capitalist who compels his men to strike by cutting them down below a living wage is responsible for the violence that comes with the strike and is an accessory before the fact to whatever may happen? How would it do to elect judges who would issue injunctions against monopolists who strike, locking up their tanneries or match factories or sugar refineries or coal mines, to create famine and make the people pay famine prices? You have been electing judges—it is your votes have done it every time—to kill the sweatshop, truck-store, child-labor laws, because contrary, these judges say, to the sacred liberty of contract.

There is another end to this poker. You could, if you would, elect judges who would hold that all contracts made between employers and employed under the compulsion of starvation are void, and that the wealth so extorted must be refunded because the contract was not free. There can come to the bench any day you choose to elect them judges who can declare void all the sales of monopoly coal, oil, salt, lumber, iron, at monopoly prices, and can order the wealth returned to its real owners—the people—because taken from them by a holdup. You have been electing judges who have defeated your attempt to control the corporations, because they held that their charters were contracts! When you elect the right man for attorney-general he will read to you out of his law books that that poker, too, has two ends, and if you will elect people's men judges, he will go before them and have nine out of ten of these charters forfeited because the contract has been broken. Nine out of every ten gas companies, street railways, steam railroads, in the United States stand to-day with the penalty of legal forfeiture hanging over them. They have done what they ought not have done, and left undone the things they should have done. Some wonderful justice will be done when the people come in.

This reception of Debs is the most encouraging thing that has happened yet in the labor movement in America, and the labor movement is a great, world-wide uprising of the people—the greatest in history. The labor movement is another rise of the people—rising to establish liberty, fraternity and equality as the law of industry, as they already made the law of the republic. The labor movement is the third great historic crisis of democracy. The first abolished the altar monopolist, the second abolished the throne monopolist, the third will abolish the money-bag monopolist. The first made men equal as brothers by the fatherhood of all humanity, the second made them equal as fellow citizens, the third, the labor movement, will make them equal as co-workers in co-operative industry, of all, by all, for all. This labor movement is a grand whole, of which the social settlements like Hull House in Chicago and Toynbee Hall in London, the trades union movement, the municipilization of monopolies in the cities, the nationalization of larger monopolies by the country at large, labor legislation, the co-operative movement, the farmer's granges, are but parts.

It is a new Christianity, for it will Christianize industry; it is a new democracy, for it will democratize privilege and injustice out of the world of business; it is a new philanthropy, for it will humanize the relation of employer and employed, buyer and seller; it is a new political economy, for the greatest destroyer of wealth in the modern world is wealth, and the labor movement, by putting all to work and opening to all the riches of nature, now locked out, shut down, will create a true wealth of which our wildest avarice cannot dream. It is the

logical sequence of all the great emancipations, reformations, religious revivals and patriotisms of the past. It will emancipate two kinds of slaves—master and man—the slave who has to submit to starvation, Gatling guns and injunctions, and the slave who uses them. This new emancipation, continuing and consummating all the others, will give a new strength to all the great words embodying the hopes and achievements of the race. Salvation, home, heaven, individuality, fatherhood, family, freedom, humanity, all these keynote words will be filled fuller when we have made each other brothers in industry, disciples of the golden rule in business, fellow citizens in the true commonwealth.

It is not a movement of hate, but of love. It pities the man who can stand at the helm of any of the great concerns of modern industrial life, made possible only by the countless efforts, loyalty and genius of thousands of his fellow men, living and dead, and say, "This is my business." It says to him, "This is not your business, not my business. It is *our* business." It says to him, in the words of the Persian proverb: "The power that is not founded on love is always the power that has failed." It pities him as robbing himself of the greatest joys and triumphs of leadership. It seeks to lift him from the low level of selfish and cruel millionairism to that of a general of great co-operative hosts of industrial brothers. The labor movement will put the strong man, the born captain of industry, in a place as high above the plutocrat as Lincoln, the elected and beloved leader, is above a czar.

The rise of the people has always meant that all live for all—you and your children, you and your fellow worshippers of one Father of all men, you and your fellow citizens with one vote and one flag, you and your associates of the trades unions, the society where an injury to one is an injury to all—in all these, in family, church, guild, society, city and state, you are, so far as you are true, doing as you would be done by, living for all.

The new rise of the people we call the labor movement has for its mission to put this rule of all for all into action among the miserable multitudes of modern industry, now living in anarchy and civil war. It means to civilize, Christianize, republicanize, humanize, economize these masses of industrial combatants, destroying themselves and destroying society. Looking back over the thousands of years they have traveled, the people can see that nothing was able to stop the republic; looking forward they know nothing can stop the co-operative commonwealth.

The *Review of Reviews* for June, 1895, contained an article entitled "Chicago Newspapers and their Makers," from which the following is taken:

"Henry D. Lloyd, author of that telling indictment of monopoly, "Wealth Against Commonwealth," prophet of the co-operative commonwealth, leader of the Chicago radicals, and idol of Chicago workingmen, served the *Tribune* as night editor, financial editor and editorial writer, and in later years wrote for the Chicago *Herald* those stinging letters from the starving mining village of Spring Valley, which, published under the title "The Strike of Millionaires Against Miners," ought to be read by every American who is ignorant of the barbarities and oppression of which rich men, reputed upright and even philanthropic, will be guilty when banded together in a corporation for profit. No longer actively associated with any newspaper, but living in scholarly leisure at Winnetka, Mr. Lloyd is frequently appealed to by Chicago editors for articles on economic or industrial subjects."

The Famous Fabians.

In the *Revue de Paris* Mr. Sidney Webb gives a clear and interesting account of the Fabian Society and the English Socialist movement. From it we learn that the society was started in London some thirteen years ago, being composed at first of a group of obscure social reformers, whose avowed object was to effect the moral regeneration of society. As regards its definition of Socialism, it differs in nothing from the Social Democratic Federation, and accepts the collectivist doctrine with all its consequences.

The members are divided into local groups, and are asked to participate according to their power in the work of the society; and, although there is no fixed subscription, each Fabian is expected to contribute a yearly sum, the amount being known only to the committee.

It is sometimes asked from whence the society takes its curious name. Mr. Webb informs his French readers that they adopted the appellation from Fabius Cunctator. At the present time 600 men and women have the right to style themselves Fabians. The society never canvasses for members, and indeed discourages indiscriminate admittance to membership. Each candidate must declare himself a Socialist, and find two supporters who are already in the society. As a body the Fabians consist of the cultured middle classes, the members being under rather than over forty years of age, and engaged for the most part in literary, scientific, artistic and other professional work. "They are the intellectual proletariat of England, composed of men like George Bernard Shaw, the fine musical critic, novelist, economist and speaker; Graham Wallas, an Oxford graduate and political historian; Grant Allen, the disciple of Herbert Spencer, a biologist and a famous novelist; May Morris (Mrs. Sparling), the daughter of William Morris, himself a fine artist; and many others—poets and journalists, economists and historians, members of the London School Board, of the County Council—one and all active and often influential politicians."

The Fabian Society publishes each year a number of pamphlets. As yet the most important publication issued by the society is the volume, "Essays on Socialism." Among the contributors were G. B. Shaw, Sydney Oliver, Wm. Clarke, Graham Wallas, Annie Besant, Hubert Bland, and Sidney Webb himself. During the last six years 35,000 copies have been sold. The Fabian tracts differ from other Socialistic literature of the kind, inasmuch as every fact and statistic quoted is carefully authenticated before being given to the world.

Fabians have little or no sympathy with anarchy, and one of the most powerful pamphlets issued by the society attempts to refute, from both the economic and political points of view, the fundamental principles of the anarchist movement.—*Review of Reviews.*

Let dead hearts tarry and trade and marry,
  And trembling nurse their games of mirth,
While we the living our lives are giving
  To bring the bright new world to birth

Come, shoulder to shoulder, ere earth grows older!
  The cause spreads over land and sea;
Now the world shaketh, and fear awaketh,
  And joy at last for thee and me.

—*William Morris.*

THE CONCENTRATION OF WEALTH.

"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay."—*Goldsmith.*

"The freest government cannot long endure where the tendency of the law is to create a rapid accumulation of property in the hands of the few, and to render the masses of the people poor and dependent."—*Daniel Webster.*

In a very well-reasoned article in the December, 1893, number of the *Political Science Quarterly*,—"a review devoted to the historical, statistical and comparative study of politics, economics and public law," and edited by the University Faculty of Political Science of Columbia College,—Mr. George K. Holmes, who has charge of the statistics of wealth of the U. S. census, sets forth some interesting and suggestive conclusions derived from scientific scrutiny of the census figures on wealth and indebtedness.

Mr. Holmes takes the family, not the individual, as the unit of his calculations. He finds that 64 per cent. of the families in the U. S. live on rented or mortgaged farms and houses, and that this 64 per cent. owns only 9 per cent. of the wealth of the nation. Eliminating those who hold the title to their homes, but are loaded down with mortgages, there remains 52 per cent. of the families of the country who are tenants pure and simple, and who own barely 5 per cent. of the wealth. Omitting the detailed classifications which Mr. Holmes makes, we get the sharply contrasting figures that 91 per cent. of the families in the U. S. own only 29 per cent. of the wealth, while in the hands of the remaining 9 per cent. no less than 71 per cent. of the wealth of the nation is concentrated.

The writer refers to the *New York Tribune's* list of 4,047 American millionaires, and prints the following classification of these great fortunes according to their sources:

Land and its exploitation	825	Interest, profit and speculation not otherwise mentioned, often with land	536
Natural and artificial monopolies	410	Inheritances, otherwise unexplained	34
Agriculture, ranch stock, sugar, etc.	86	Miscellaneous, often with land	70
Trade and manufacture, often with land and securities	2,065	Unknown	21
Total			4,047

Mr. Holmes very properly points out that the possibility of sudden acquirement of large wealth is growing notably less. Land speculation on large scale, the exploitation of railway properties, the purchase of great territories of valuable timber land or of mining claims for trifling sums and their development at large profit are sources of wealth which are rapidly disappearing. Money is made now by money. The gradual increase in the value of real estate, which its owner is able to hold, the accumulation of rents and interest, are the methods by which fortunes are now increased. And it is because of this very fact that the problem of concentration of wealth is becoming more serious as existing economic and industrial conditions tend to increase that concentration. * * * * *

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Millionaires in the United States.

To the Editor of The World :

Will you kindly answer the following questions? What is the number of millionaires in the United States? What proportion of the whole property in the United States do the millionaires own? A. E. J.

Freehold, N. J., Sept. 5.

[The exact number is not known. It is too personal and private for current "statistics." If we had an income tax some approximation might be made, but there is nothing later or better than the census report of 1890 :

	No. of families.	Total wealth.	Wealth per family.
Class 1	4,074	$12,400,000,000	$3,000,000
Class 2	1,092,218	31,620,000,000	28,000
Class 3	12,010,000	17,980,000,000	1,497
	13,106,292	$62,000,000,000	$4,732

The first class includes millionaires. The second those worth over $5,000. The third those worth $5,000 and less.—Ed. World.]—*New York World*, Sept. 11, 1896.

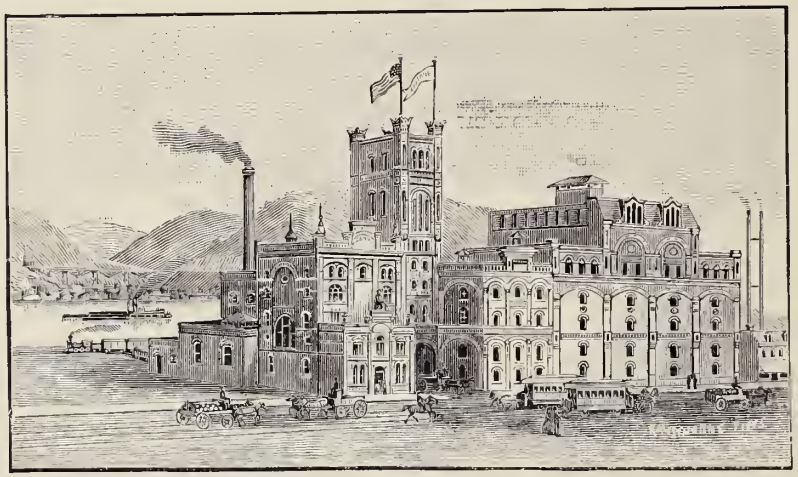
The Power of Syndicates.

"Syndicates, by one stroke, get the power of selling dear on one side and producing cheap on the other. Thus they keep themselves happy, prices high, and the people hungry. The dream of the king who wished that all his people had but one neck, that he might decapitate them at one blow, is realized to-day in this industrial garrote. The syndicate has but to turn its screw and every neck begins to break. Prices paid to such intercepters are not an exchange of service; they are ransom paid by the people for their lives. The ability of the citizen to pay may fluctuate; what he must pay remains fixed, or advances like the rent of the Irish tenant to the absentee landlord, until the community interferes.

"Those who have this power to draw the money from the people—from every railroad station, every street-car, every fire-place, every salt-cellar, every bread-pan, wash-board, and coal-scuttle—to their own safes have the further incentive to make this money worth the most possible. By contracting the issue of currency, and contracting it again by hoarding it in their banks, safe-deposit vaults, and the Government treasury, they can depress the prices of all that belongs to the people. Their own prices are fixed. These are 'regular prices,' established by price lists. Given as a ruling motive, the principle of business—to get the most and give the least—given the legal, economic, physical, and mechanical control possible under our present social arrangements to the few over the many, and the certain end of all this, if unarrested, unreversed, can be nothing less than a return to chattel slavery. There may be some finer name, but the fact will not be finer. Between our present tolerance and our completed subjection the distance is not so far as that from the equality and simplicity of our Pilgrim Fathers to ourselves."—*Henry D. Lloyd.*

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Born of Freedom's high desire,
Nursed amid the battle's ire,
Tried by thunderbolt and fire,
On the field and on the tide,
Where our heroes side by side,
Followed thee and fought and died
Gazing on thy stars, Old Glory.

We will stand by thee, Old Glory,
On the lands and on the waves,
For our babes and for our graves,
Though we stand or fall as slaves;
For thy stars are not to blame
For the treason, fraud and shame
That pollute thy holy name
In our halls of state, Old Glory.

Knaves have stolen thee, Old Glory,
For the Babylonian bowers;
From their festal walls and towers
Droops the flag that once was ours;
O'er their crimes thy beauty trails,
And the old-time answer fails
When from chain-gangs, courts and jails
Men appeal to thee, Old Glory.

Be our shield once more, Old Glory!
Lo! the world in travail pain
Turns and pleads to thee in vain
While through plundered vale and plain,
Stripped and bruised by licensed thieves,
Starving, begging for her sheaves,
Outcast Labor tramps and grieves,
With no help from thee, Old Glory.

We will rescue thee, Old Glory!
Bloodless may the process be,
Peaceful as the yearning sea
Anchored to the windless lee—
But if peace cannot prevail,
Welcome tidal wave and gale,
Welcome lightning, flame and hail,
Till thy very stars turn pale
In the grander light, Old Glory.

If it must be so, Old Glory—
If blind error smite with force
Truth and justice at their source,
Suns and planets in their course—
Let the earthquake lift the deep,
Let the world's floods wake from sleep,
Let the crouching terrors leap,
And where God's own toilers reap
We will carry thee, Old Glory.

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Craft Publications.

American Federationist, 700 Fourteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Bakers' Journal, 5 Boerum St., Brooklyn, N. Y.

Barbers' Journal, Syracuse, N. Y.

Brass Worker, The, 2211 Montgomery St., St. Louis, Mo.

Brauer Zeitung, 404 Market St., St. Louis, Mo.

Boiler Makers' and Iron Shipbuilders' Journal New York Life Building, Kansas City, Kan.

Buchdrucker Zeitung, De Soto Block, Indianapolis, Ind.

Carpenter, The, 124 N. Ninth St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Clerks' National Advocate, The Retail, Room 26 Case Library Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio.

Clerk, The, N. Y. Life Building, St. Paul, Minn.

Cigar Makers' Journal, Monon Building, Chicago, Ill.

Commoner and Glassworker, 417 Wood St., Pittsburg, Pa.

Conductors' Monthly Railway, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Coopers' Journal, 4143 Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Electrical Worker, 904 Olive St., St. Louis, Mo.

Engineers, Brotherhood of Locomotive, Cleveland, Ohio.

Fireman's Magazine, Locomotive, Peoria, Ill.

Garment Worker, 28 Lafayette Place, New York, N. Y.

Glass Budget, National, 426 Fourth Ave., Pittsburg, Pa.

Granite Cutters' Journal, Drawer 118, Baltimore, Md.

Longshoreman, The, 44 W. Larned St., Detroit, Mich.

Machinists' Journal, 330 Monon Building, Chicago, Ill.

Metal Workers' Journal, 194 Elm St., New York, N. Y.

Metal Polishers, Platers and Buffers' Journal, 520 Chamber of Commerce, Detroit, Mich.

Mine Workers' Journal, 81 Clinton Building, Columbus, Ohio.

Miner, The Leadville, 517 Harrison Ave., Leadville, Colo.

Moulders' Journal, Iron, 433 Walnut St., Cincinnati, Ohio.

Motorman and Conductor, 39 Kanter Bldg., Detroit, Mich.

Printer, Pacific Union, 606 Montgomery St., San Francisco, Cal.

Painters' Journal, Lafayette, Ind.

Painters' Journal, 1314 N. Fulton Ave., Baltimore, Md.

Pattern Makers' Journal, 26 Third Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Plumbers, Steam and Gas Fitters' Journal, 5123 Dearborn St., Pittsburg, Pa.

Printer and American Craftsman, Union, 12 Chambers St., New York, N. Y.

Potters' Journal, cor. Broad and Hanover Sts., Trenton, N. J.

Quarryman's Journal, W. Dummerston, Vt.

Railway Times, Terre Haute, Ind.

Railway Trainman's Journal, Peoria, Ill.

Railroader, International, 2111 Masonic Temple, Chicago, Ill.

Railway Telegrapher, 29 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

Seaman's Journal, Coast, San Francisco, Cal.

Stone Cutters' Journal, 819 Fifth Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Stove Mounters' Journal, 511 Upper Sixth St., Evansville, Ind.

Tailor, The, 107 Washington St., Bloomington, Ill.

Telegraphers' Advocate, The, Ruskin, Tenn.

Tin, Sheet Iron and Cornice Workers' Journal, 36 Wabash St., Pittsburg, Pa.

Typographical Journal, De Soto Block, Indianapolis, Ind.

Varnishers' Journal, 88 So Sangamon St , Chicago, Ill

Wood Workers' Journal, 146 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Labor and Reform.

Advocate, The Industrial, Denver, Colo.

Advocate, The Industrial, Pueblo, Colo.

Advocate, The Utica, 133 Genesee St., Utica, N. Y.

Advocate, The, 22 Broadman Bldg., Troy, N. Y.

Arbeiter Zeitung, 317 Genesee St., Buffalo, N. Y.

Arbeiter Zeitung, Cincinnati, Ohio.

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Arbeiter Zeitung, 107 Wells St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Better Way, The, Hopkins Park, Ill.
Bulletin, South Camden, 805 S. Second St., Camden, N. J.
Building Trades' Journal, 1324 Race St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Blue Label Bulletin, 118 York St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
Blue Label, Box 1650, Tacoma, Wash.
Cleveland Citizen, The, 113 Champlain St., Cleveland, Ohio.
Citizen, The, 44 W. Larned St., Detroit, Mich.
Courier, The Pueblo, Pueblo, Colo.
Common Cause, The, 431 Main St., Cincinnati, Ohio.
Calamity Howler, Third and Morrison Sts., Portland, Ore.
Critic, Saturday, Wilber Block, Oneonta, N. Y.
Diamond, Brockton Weekly, Brockton, Mass.
Eight Hour Herald, 148 150 Monroe St., Chicago, Ill.
Freeman's Labor Journal, cor. Riverside & Stevens Sts., Spokane, Wash.
Hayes Valley Advertiser, 509 Hayes St., San Francisco, Cal.
Humanity, Kansas City, Mo.
Idaho State Tribune, Wallace, Idaho.
Industrial News, The, Scranton, Pa.
Journal, The Evening Daily, 513 Elm St., St. Louis, Mo.
Journal of Labor, The, Nashville, Tenn.
Journal of Industry, Quincy, Ill.
Labor Advocate, Birmingham, Ala.
Labor Chronicle, The, Leavenworth, Kan.
Labor's Exponent, Saginaw, Mich.
Labor Gazette, Seattle, Wash.
Labor Journal, The, Zanesville, Ohio.
Labor Journal, Texas State, Dallas, Texas.
Labor Leader, The, 241 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.
Labor Leader, The, 107 N. Water St., Hamilton, Ohio.
Labor Leader, The Indiana, 25 S. Delaware St., Indianapolis, Ind.
Labor Leader, 25 W. Chestnut St., Lancaster, Pa.
Labor News, Galesburg, Galesburg, Ill.
Labor News, Quincy, Ill.
Labor Record, The, 1012 N. Fifth St., Kansas City, Kan.
Labor Standard, Paterson, N. J.
Labor Tribune, National, cor. Fifth Ave. and Smithfield St., Pittsburg, Pa.
Labor World, 215 Woodbridge Building, Duluth, Minn.
Labor World, The, Los Angeles, Cal.
Labor World, San Francisco, Cal.
Labor, Voice of, 620 Market St., San Francisco, Cal.
Labor Voice, 331 S. Michigan St., So. Bend, Ind.
Labor's Voice, Muscatine, Iowa.
Midland Mechanic, Room 317 Hall Bldg., Kansas City, Mo.
Mirror, The, Kalamazoo, Mich.
New Era, 252 W. Main St., Louisville, Ky.
New Era, Asheville, N. C.
Ohio Valley Workman, Wheeling, W. Va
People, The, Erie, Pa.
People's Banner, 911 S. Main St., Lima, Ohio.
Record, Saturday Union, 323 Clark Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
Star, The, 429 Montgomery St., San Francisco, Cal.
Trades Journal, The, Watertown, N. Y.
Trades Review, The, Bloomington, Ill.
Trades Unionist, The, 1237 Penna. Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
Trades Unionist, Chattanooga, Tenn.
Trades and Labor Gazette, Peoria, Ill.
Tageblatt, 311 Walnut St., St. Louis, Mo.
Tageblatt, Philadelphia, Pa.
The Other Side, Atlanta, Ga.
Union, The, 22 S. Capitol Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
Union, The, 305 Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
Union, The Toledo, 224 St. Clair St., Toledo, Ohio.
Union, The, Tacoma, Wash.
Union Advocate, The, N. W. cor. High and Mound Sts., Columbus, Ohio.
Union "Totem," The, 175 North Spring St., Los Angeles, Cal.
Vorwarts, Wisconsin, (Daily), 614 State St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Western Laborer, Barker Block, Omaha, Neb.
Workman, The, 63 Pearl St., Grand Rapids, Mich.

Government Publications.

Bulletin of the Department of Labor, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

University Publications.

The American Journal of Sociology, Chicago University, Chicago, Ill.
Yale Review, Tuttle, Morehouse & Co., 125 Temple St., New Haven, Conn.
Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.







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Columbia University Studies in Political Science, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

The Quarterly Journal of Economics Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin; Economics, Political Science and History Series, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

Political Science Quarterly, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, Ginn & Co., Boston, Mass.

Association Publications.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, Penn.

Economic Studies, American Economic Association, Macmillan & Co., New York, N.Y.

Monographs of the American Economic Association, Macmillan & Co., New York, N.Y.

Reform Magazines.

American Magazine of Civics, 38 Park Row, New York, N. Y.

The Arena, Copley Square, Boston, Mass.

The Twentieth Century, 64 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Single Tax.

National Single Taxer, 207 Sykes Block, Minneapolis, Minn.

Justice, cor. Third and Market Sts., Wilmington, Del.

Labor Exchange.

Progressive Thought, Olathe, Kan.

Fairhope Courier, Fairhope, Ala.

The Director, 139 S. Center St., Stockton, Cal.

Direct Legislation.

Direct Legislation Record, Newark, N. J.

Proportional Representation.

Proportional Representation Review, 85 Fifth Ave., Chicago, Ill.

The Radical, Lemoore, Cal.

Philosophical Anarchism.

Liberty, Box 1312, New York, N. Y.

Age of Thought, Columbus Junction, Iowa.

Social Settlement.

Hull-House Bulletin, 335 South Halsted St., Chicago, Ill

Chicago Commons, 140 North Union St., Chicago, Ill.

Prohibition.

The New Era, Springfield, Ohio.

The New York Voice, 30 Lafayette Place, New York, N. Y.

Socialist.

American Fabian, The, 973 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kan.

Beacon, The, 348 Westminster St., Providence, R. I.

Coming Nation, The, Ruskin, Tenn.

Commonwealth, 28 Lafayette Place, New York, N. Y.

Grander Age, The, Co-opolis, Miss.

Justice, 427 Charles Block, Denver, Col.

New Charter, The, 169 W. San Fernando St., San Jose, Cal.

People, The, 184 Williams St., New York, N. Y.

Socialist Alliance, The, Room 16, 152 La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.

Socialist, The, 727 Geary St., San Francisco, Cal.

Socialist, The, Williamsport, Pa.

Skandinavisk-Amerikanska Arbetaren, 35 Frankfort St., New York, N. Y.

Tageblatt, The, 633 Merchant St., San Francisco, Cal.

Truth, 225 W. Second St., Davenport, Iowa.

Uncle Sam, Cumberland, Md.

Volkseitung, 184 Williams St., New York, N. Y.

White Slave, 203 So. 13th St., Omaha, Neb.

Wahrheit, Dir, 614 State St., Milwaukee, Wis.

Populist.

The People's Protest, Cullman, Ala.

Silver Star, Oneonta, Ala.

Morgan's Buzz-Saw, Hardy, Ark.

Arkansaw Populist, Arkadelphia, Ark.

The Civic Review, Rooms 38 and 40 Downer Block, Los Angeles, Cal.

Industry, 378 Thirteenth St., Oakland, Cal.

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Tulare Valley Citizen, 116 Kern St., Tulare, Cal.

Western Watchman, 526 G. St., Eureka, Cal.

The New Road, 1529 Curtis St, Denver, Colo.

Independent Reform Press, 2723 Fourth Ave., Peublo, Colo.

The People's World, Blountstown, Fla.

The People's Party Paper, 84½ S. Forsyth St., Atlanta, Ga.

The Other Side, Coeur D'Alene, Idaho.

The Chicago Express, Box 369, Chicago, Ill.

Monthly Sentinel, Joliet, Ill.

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The Advocate, Topeka, Kan.
The Star and Kansan, Independence, Kan.
Kansas Commoner, Wichita, Kan.
Pittsburg Kansan, Pittsburg, Kan.
The Barton Beacon, Great Bend, Kan.
Kansas Agitator, Garnett, Kan.
The World, Girard, Kan.
The Free Republic, Room 6, N. W. corner Bullitt and Main Sts., Louisville, Ky.
The Weekly Express, Fordsville, Ky.
The Progressive Age, Rushton, La.
The Banner of Liberty, Minden, La.
The Maine Populist, 32 Main St., Lewiston, Maine.
The Eastern Shore, Easton, Md.
The Industrial News, Jackson, Mich.
The Representative, Minneapolis, Minn.
People's Messenger, Okalona, Miss.
The Missouri World, Chillicothe, Mo.
The Industrial Leader, Lamar, Mo.
Nevada Director, Nevada, Mo.
The Western Silver Advocate, Helena, Mont.
The Outlook, Cedar Rapids, Neb.
New Era, North Platte, Neb.
The Nebraska Independent, 1120 M St., Lincoln, Neb.
Vineland Independent, Vineland, N. J.
The Plaindealer, Reno, Nevada
East and West, Pen Yan, N. Y.
The Caucasian, Raleigh, N. C.
Progressive Farmer, Raleigh, N. C.
Coxey's Sound Money, Massillon, Ohio.
The Advance Guard, Defiance, Ohio.
Portland Times, Portland, Oregon.
Lake County Rustler, Lakeview, Oregon.
Sledge-Hammer, Meadville, Pa.
The Dakota Ruralist, Aberdeen, S. Dak.
Plain Talk, Vermillion, S. Dak.
The People's Friend, Union City, Tenn.
The Southern Mercury, Dallas, Texas.
The Pioneer Exponent, Comanche, Texas.
The Texas Independent, Greenville, Texas.
The Dublin Progress, Dublin, Texas.
West Texas Sentinel, Abilene, Texas.
The Texas Pitchfork, 105 W. Seventh St., Austin, Texas.
Bois d'Arc Thorn, Sherman, Texas.
The Ogden Review, 422 Twenty-fourth St., Ogden, Utah.
The Inter-Mountain Advocate, 76 W. 2nd, South, Salt Lake City, Utah.
The Sun, 1009 A St., Tacoma, Wash.
The West Coast Populist, 214 Columbia St., Seattle, Wash.
The People's Press, Clarksburg, W. Va.
The Milwaukee Advance, 482 Market St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Wyoming Freeman, Sundance, Wyoming.
Oklahoma Champion, Oklahoma City, Okla.
The People's Voice, Norman, Okla.

Foreign Labor Papers.

[Prices quoted include postage.]

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Labour Leader, (Keir Hardie's paper,) 66 Brunswick St., Glasgow, Scotland. Weekly. $1.50 per year.

The Clarion, (edited by Robert Blatchford, author of "Merrie England,") 72 Fleet St., London, England. Weekly. $1.50 per year.

Justice, (the organ of the Social Democracy) Address: H. Quelch, 37 Clerkenwell Green, London, E. C., England. Weekly. $1.50 per year.

Labour Prophet and Labour Church Record, 72 Fleet St., London, England. Monthly. 50c. per year.

Reynolds' Newspaper. Address: John Dicks, 313 Strand, London, W. C., England. Weekly. $1.50 per year.

Bradford Labour Echo. Address: Labour Institute, Bradford, England. Weekly. $1.00. per year.

Labour Chronicle, 27 Williamson St., Liverpool, England. Monthly. 50 cents per year.

The Labour Annual. Edited by Joseph Edwards. (A year book of social, economic and political reform.) Two hundred and seventy-two pages. Price, postpaid, 30 cents. Address: "Clarion" office, 72 Fleet St., London, England.

AUSTRALIA

People's Newspaper and Central Queensland Labour Advocate, Rockhampton, Queensland, Australia. Weekly. $1.50 per year.

Worker, (the official organ of the associated workers of Queensland.) Trades Hall, Turbot St., Brisbane, Queensland, Australia. Weekly. $1.50 per year.

CANADA.

Industrial Banner, 427 Grey St., London, Ont., Canada.

The Searchlight, 39 King St. W., Toronto, Ont., Canada.

MANITOBA.

The People's Voice, 168 Bannatyne St., Winnipeg, Manitoba.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

The Pathfinder, New Westminster, British Columbia.

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There's nothing stirs a fellow's bile
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God give us men! A time like this demands,
Great hearts, strong minds, true faith and willing hands,
Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
  Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men who possess opinions and a will;
  Men who have honor, men who will not lie;
For while the rabble, with their dumb worn creeds,
Their large professions and their little deeds,
Wrangle in selfish strife—lo! Freedom weeps,
Wrong rules the land and waiting justice sleeps.

—*Oliver Wendell Holmes.*

Come forth from the valley, come forth from the hill,
Come forth from the workshop, the mine, and the mill,
From pleasure or slumber, from study or play,
Come forth in your myriads to aid us to-day:
There's a word to be spoken, a deed to be done,
A truth to be uttered, a cause to be won.

Come, youths, in your vigour; come, men, in your prime;
Come, age, with experience fresh gathered from time;
Come, workers, you're welcome; come, thinkers, you must!
Come thick as the clouds in the midsummer dust,
Or the waves of the sea gleaming bright in the sun,
There's a truth to be told, and a cause to be won.

—*Charles Mackay.*



Take heed of your civilization, ye, on your pyramids built of quivering hearts;

There are stages like Paris in '93 where the commonest men play terrible parts.

Your statutes may crush, but they cannot kill the patient sense of a natural right;

It may slowly move, but the people's will, like the ocean o'er Holland, is always in sight

"'Tis not our fault!" say the rich ones. No; 'tis the fault of a system old and strong;

But men are the makers of systems; so, the cure will come, if we own the wrong.

—*John Boyle O'Reilly.*

PRESS OF A. DATZ, HUDSON COUNTY TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION LABEL UNION No 94, N.J. JERSEY CITY, N. J.